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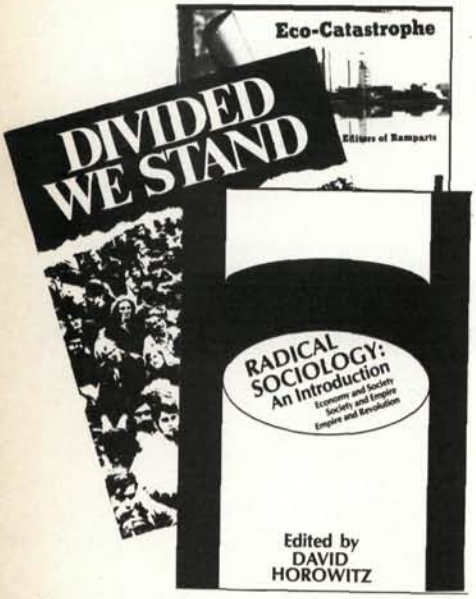

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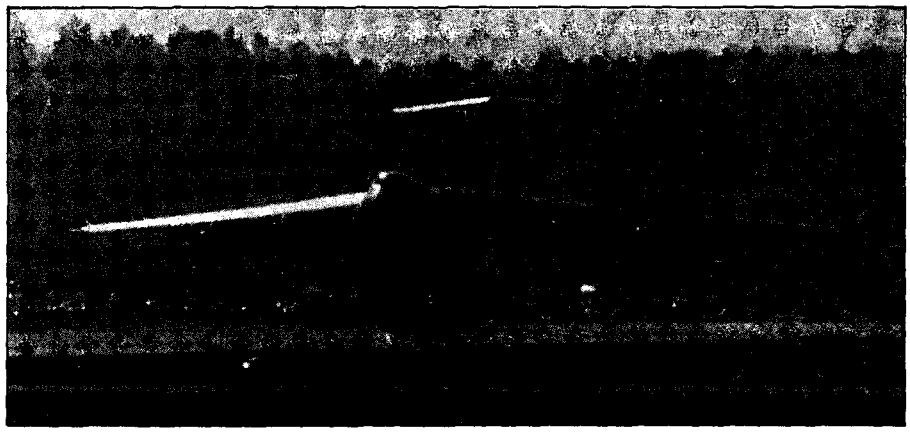

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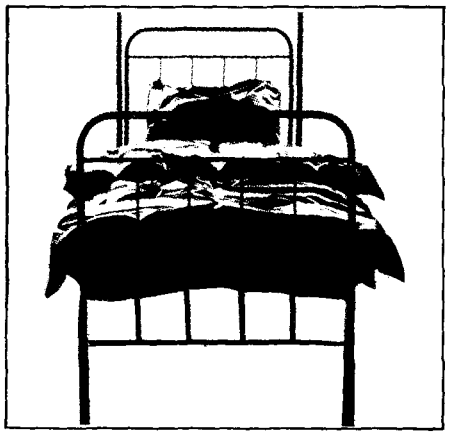

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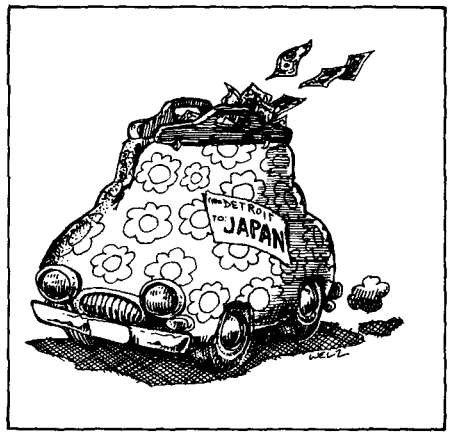

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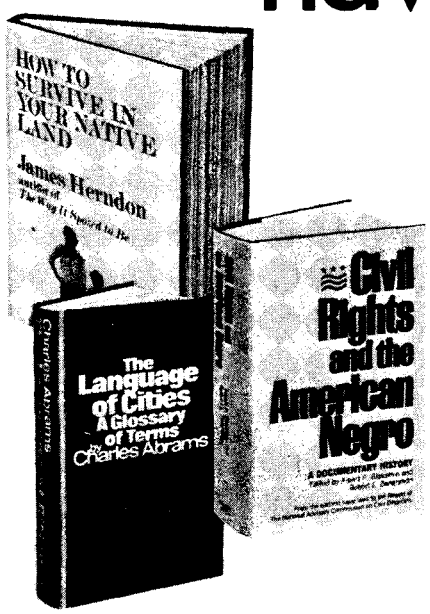
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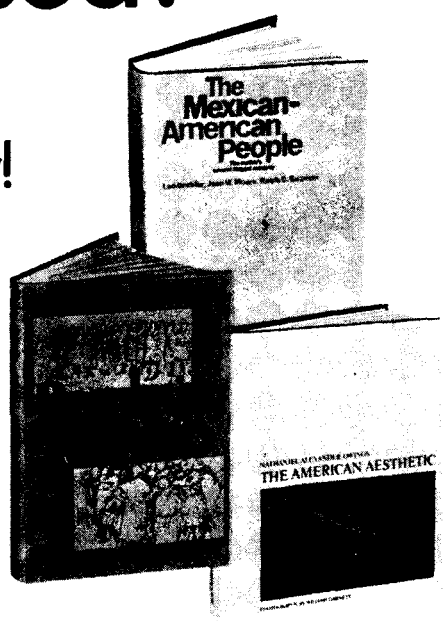

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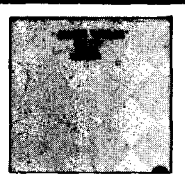

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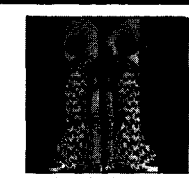

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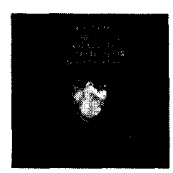

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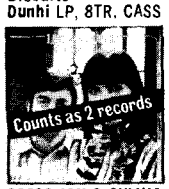

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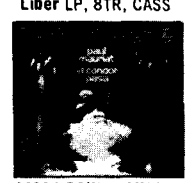

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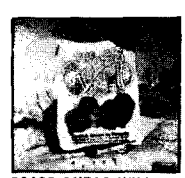

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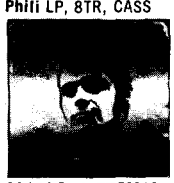

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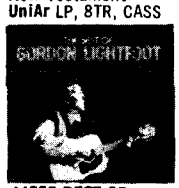

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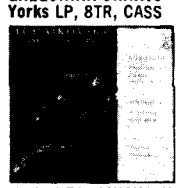

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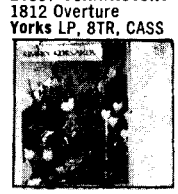

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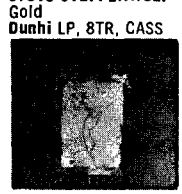

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Mr.
Mrs.
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City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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Check one: ☐ **Diners Club** ☐ **Master Charge** ☐ **American Express** ☐ **BankAmericard**

Acct. # _____ Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

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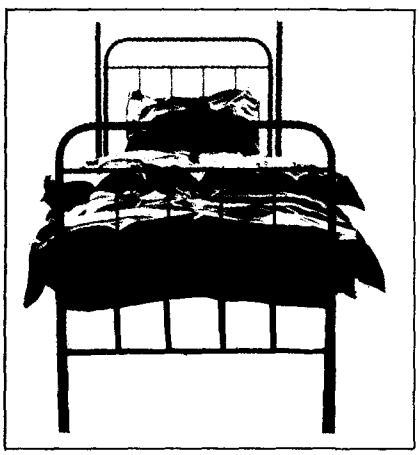
Hard Times

The Economics of Health Care

"Blue Cross has been helping hospitals pad their Medicare bills. . . ."



DURING THE LATE SUMMER OF 1970, Sylvester West, a 70-year-old Philadelphia resident, was twice admitted to the Women's Medical Hospital for heart failure. In April 1971, he was admitted to Chestnut Hill Hospital with congestive heart failure, malnutrition, dehydration, cirrhosis of the liver, gangrene and edema. He was certified as eligible for Medicare on admission.

In the hospital West improved somewhat. Eventually both his physician and the hospital's utilization review committee, a group of doctors who oversee treatment of Medicare patients, determined that West should be released from the hospital to a nursing home where he could receive needed care. Two local nursing homes tentatively agreed to take him; but Blue Cross and another organization handling Medicare claims refused to certify West for continued Medicare treatment. Thereupon, both nursing homes refused to admit him, and the hospital discharged the patient to his home. His daughter did the best she could, but West could not eat and was slowly starving.

At this point attorneys for the Health Law Project, a program of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, heard about the situation from a hospital social worker. With the help of West's daughter, they prepared a suit, not only to secure immediate relief for West but to challenge the Medicare procedures generally. The lawyers began to collect affidavits from the hospital staff. The hospital administration called in its lawyers who, as it happened, also represented one of the nursing homes involved. Moving fast to avoid a suit, the lawyers directed the hospital staff to keep clear of the Health Law Project. Near starvation, West was whisked off to the hospital where he was given free room and board; then a nursing home agreed to take him, also free of charge. This was good luck for West, but it cut the ground out from under the Health Law Project's suit against Medicare—at least temporarily.

Elderly people often need considerable time to recover from operations and other sorts of ailments. Many are afflicted with chronic diseases, and many are slowly dying from cancer, hardening of the arteries, and the like. Sometimes they require hospital care, but more often the slow deterioration requires occasional nursing, particularly right after leaving the hospital. In its early days Medicare covered some of this nursing care, but was severely criticized for its high costs. In an effort to cut back expenses, the Social Security Administration ruled that people like West, who suffer from chronic disease or who lack rehabilitative potential, are not eligible for any sort of Medicare coverage once they leave the hospital. According to the Health Law Project, in Philadelphia it is a matter of common practice to deny Medicare nursing-home services to elderly people unless they have bleeding bed sores, have tubes stuck in their noses, or are in active therapy. Under this policy a terminal cancer case would be denied Medicare, as would a person who, while released from the hospital, still needed a change of surgical bandages.

This policy has succeeded in cutting the cost of Medicare. It has also made it possible for the Social Security Administration to recover its good standing with the conservative Senate Finance Committee and House Ways and Means Committee, both of which are important organizations in setting policy and managing the health industry. In 1968, the government spent some $340 million on nursing-home care. In 1970, that amount was cut back to $180 million. According to the *Social Security Bulletin,* Medicare met 43 percent of the expenditures for the aged in 1970, a slightly lower proportion than was met in the previous year. The journal says, "The portion of the ageds' health bill met by Medicare grew from 34 percent in its first year, to 42 percent and 45 percent in its second and third years. In 1970, however, Medicare's share ($6.8 billion) declined to 43 percent." The rationale for this policy is that Medicare was meant to cover elderly people only for an acute spell of illness, and was not designed to cover long-term treatment.

While the government is cutting old people out of Medicare to save money, the local Blue Cross plans, which administer the Medicare program in most parts of the country, have been helping hospitals pad their bills,

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showing them how to charge Medicare for private rooms and maternity care. According to the Health, Education and Welfare Audit Agency, it is usual practice for Medicare fiscal intermediaries (like Blue Cross) to help hospitals fill out claims forms to assure that they receive the greatest amount of money. There is no clear estimate as to how much money is involved, but the HEW Audit Agency believes it may run as much as $1 million a year for large hospitals. The Social Security Administration estimates that the total may be as much as $100 to $200 million a year.

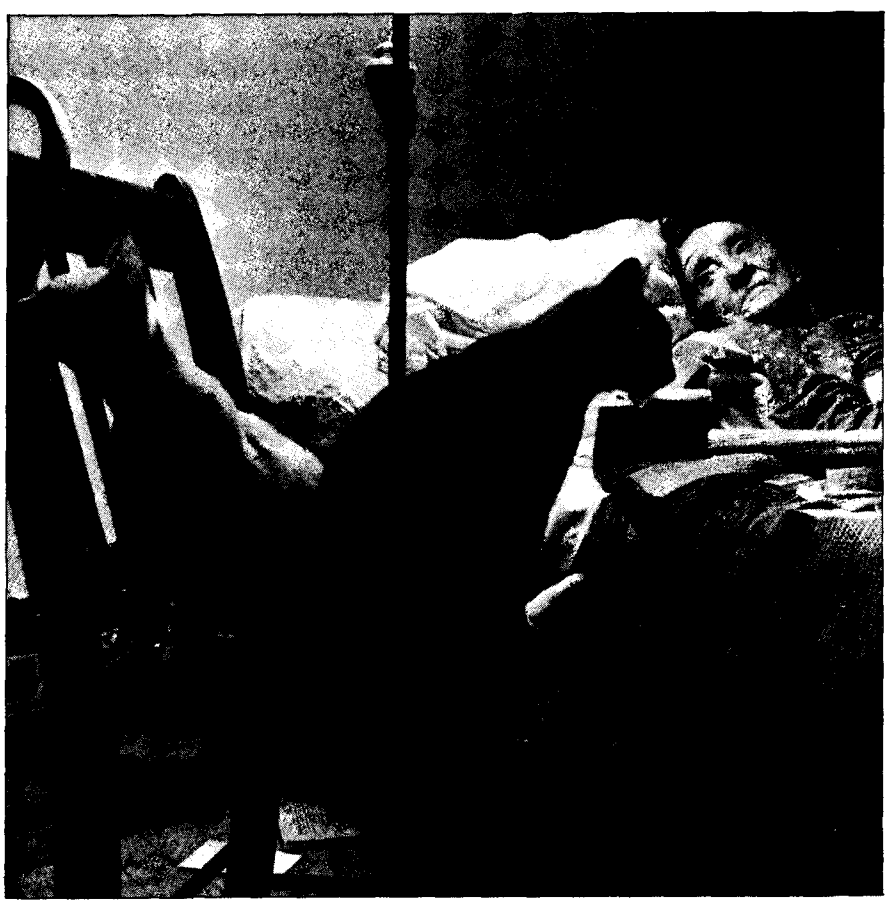
SOME OF MEDICARE'S inequities have already been reported [see RAMPARTS, May 1971], but the program now seems to be taking on the proportions of a scandal. Because the Social Security Administration and Blue Cross steadfastly refuse to make public internal reports on the program, it is impossible to know exactly how Medicare is managed. Under the Freedom of Information Act, the Social Security Administration has classified most of its reports as "internal correspondence," in this manner keeping them secret. Either House Ways and Means Committee or the Senate Finance Committee could release the records, but neither will do so. The staffs of these committees jealously guard their contacts within Social Security, and the reports, if made public, would probably reflect poorly on both committees.

At recent hearings in the Senate Finance Committee, Senator Wallace Bennett of Utah confronted Walter McNerney, president of the Blue Cross Association, with a confidential Social Security report which rated 23 of 74 Blue Cross plans as unsatisfactory in their handling of Medicare. This particular report, which is a sharp attack on Blue Cross by the Bureau of Health Insurance (the organization within Social Security directly in charge of Medicare), is still kept secret by its director Thomas Tierney. Tierney is a former Blue Cross official, and actually opposed McNerney for the presidency of the Blue Cross Association in the early 1960s.

Several proposed health "reforms" are now pending in Congress. The Senate Finance Committee, under Chairman Russell Long, is expected to introduce a catastrophic health insurance bill in September. This bill, which would provide coverage after the family has spent $2000 and the patient has been in the hospital for 60 days, will be administered by fiscal intermediaries under the general supervision of the Social Security Administration, much like Medicare. A similar bill is expected to emerge from Wilbur Mills' House Ways and Means Committee in October. Catastrophic health insurance won't cost the government much, and it won't help very many people. Still, politicians, ever sensitive to bettering their image in middle-class voters' eyes, can easily support such "reforms"—and at the same time they'll be assured that the AMA and insurance companies won't come out against them. But catastrophic insurance leaves the inflationary, inequitable health system unchanged.

The growing cynicism over the Kennedy-UAW national health insurance scheme also suggests passage of a catastrophic health insurance measure. True or not, Kennedy is widely believed to be riding the health issue in the same way he rode the Indians, another political gimmick to advance him in the Presidential race. While the Kennedy legislation appears radical, close inspection suggests it might actually reinforce the existing structure. Under the Kennedy proposal, amounts of money spent for health care would be allocated by regions and based on prior health-spending patterns. That could mean, for instance, that the Northeast, which spends a lot on health would continue to get a good deal of money for health care, while the South, which spends relatively little, would continue to get small amounts. The creation of a health security board appointed by the President is meant to change authority from the hospitals and doctors to the government, but the health industry already includes government as an important part of its structure. The board probably would perpetuate the health industry by including representatives of government, Congressional committees, doctors, hospitals, drug companies and other suppliers, with consumers not in a policy-making role, but on the outside as advisors.

—JAMES RIDGEWAY



Photograph by Bob Fitch/Photon West

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Big Brother

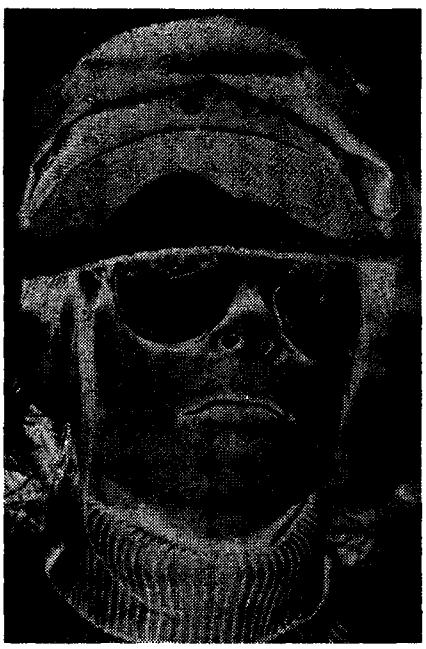
THE LATEST WEIRD IDEA to come from the Pentagon's Peacefare program is a scheme for attaching miniature electronic devices to criminals or other suspect citizens and keeping track of them by computers. Peacefare is the usual term for all the efforts made in recent years to transfer Vietnam counter-insurgency methods to the home front, thereby opening up fresh employment possibilities for defense contractors and unemployed scientists. Engineers are desperately scrounging around with lunatic plans for helping out the police in hopes of getting on the contract gravy train at the Justice Department.

The Crime Deterrent Transponder System was developed by Joseph Meyer, a computer specialist who works at the National Security Agency, the secret intelligence organization which spies on other governments with satellites, ships (Pueblo), etc. The details of the plan were described by Meyer in the January 1971, issue of *Transactions on Aerospace and Electronic Systems,* a publication of the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers.

Initially the transponders would be attached to 20 million "subscribers" as a condition of bail or parole. Each subscriber would be identified by a unique code, which would be transmitted several times a minute to a computer via a network of transceivers deployed throughout neighborhoods like existing police call-boxes. The computer would record the subscriber's location and compare it with a stored file that would "specify the normal schedule for the subscriber [and] any territorial or curfew restrictions." If the computer found the subscriber to be in violation of these restrictions, it would instruct the transponder to warn its wearer of the transgression.

The transponders would be "attached" in such a way that they could not be removed without the computer knowing it. Subscribers who discard or tamper with their transponders would be classified as "renegades," and would be charged with a felony. Furthermore, "By defining tampering as a federal crime, the renegade has to stay in hiding everywhere he goes." Meyer urges that "the assignment should be done on a fairly long-term basis, so that the criminal will acquire long experience in not committing crimes."

In practice, the computer would effectively control the lives of the persons plugged into it. According to Meyer, "The aim of the transponder surveillance scheme is to constrain criminals and arrestees into behaving like law-abiding citizens. If this aim is fulfilled, then most of the subscribers will do ordinary things like get up in



the morning and go to work. At night they will stay close to home, to avoid being implicated in crimes. At their place of work, a human surveillance system will operate. Low-powered transceivers in their domiciles can monitor them indoors."

Meyer has a social theory to go along with his electronics plan: "In a success-oriented society the manifestations of success are largely material-affluence. Yet not everyone attains the upper-income brackets. The noncriminal undergoes a long apprenticeship amid family and peer group to learn the motivations and skills necessary to get along in the society and thus seek affluence by conventional means . . . . Most people attain a rather median level of affluence, and only at the cost of conformity and indebtedness. Part of the social conditioning is to enable people to accept this limited success, and to feel guilty about it, without trying to upset the social and economic house of cards. . . .

"A transponder surveillance system can surround the criminal with a kind of externalized conscience—an electronic substitute for the social conditioning, group pressures, and inner motivation which most of the society lives with . . . many criminals and miscreants seem to have little desire to go along with the social norms, so an externalized control system may be necessary to them, like a heart pacer to a cardiac patient."

Turning to the financial aspects of his proposal, Meyer estimates that an expected 20 million subscribers would require an annual expenditure of $2 billion. In order to minimize the cost to the taxpayers, "the obvious way to pay for the transponders is to lease them to the subscribers at a low cost, say five dollars per week, and make the subscribers responsible for damages. In the case of juveniles, it might be necessary to find work for them so they could meet the payments, if their families were unable to pay."

He concludes: "By placing the cost of the system onto the criminal population . . . and putting the subscribers back into the economy to earn the cost of their freedom, a certain poetic justice is achieved."

THE TRANSPONDER CONCEPT was first proposed in 1964 by Ralph and Robert Schwitzgebel, the twin apostles of "behavioral engineering." Ralph Schwitzgebel, a self-styled "social gadgeteer" with both a law degree and a doctorate in psychology, has already tested his "electronic rehabilitation system" on a number of offenders and mental patients in Boston.

While the persons monitored in this prototype system were volunteers, the system might be implemented on an involuntary basis without any changes in existing laws. As a result of broad discretion granted to them by the legislatures and constitutional mandate, state and federal parole authorities have imposed a variety of conditions

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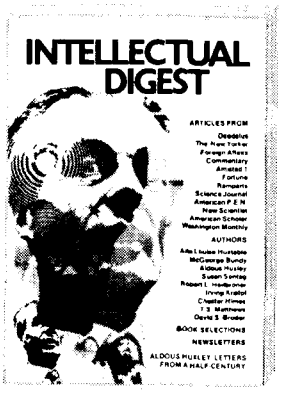

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on the release of parolees. Most often these include prohibitions from possessing weapons and associating with "undesirables," but many parole boards have required regular church attendance, and others have imposed curfew or territorial restrictions. Frequently paroled prisoners must have the permision of the parole board before they may marry, travel, or change employment or residence. In a discussion of Schwitzgebel's system, the *Harvard Law Review* observed that parole is often considered to be a substitute for the harsher treatment of imprisonment. "This substitution," it continued, "may be viewed as a gift of the state, subject to whatever conditions the state imposes, or as a contract by which the convict accepts conditions in return for release."

Schwitzgebel argues that location-monitoring of parolees would probably not be found in violation of any of the provisions of the Bill of Rights, and so could be successfully implemented subject to appropriate regulation. However, substitution of transponder surveillance for bail, as proposed by Meyer, would be quite another matter. Yet, as pointed out by the *Harvard Law Review* in 1966, this might be the Justice Department's solution to the outcry that arose from the public and the legal community when it proposed "preventive detention." "An intermediate position, short of a full system of preventive detention," remarked the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in 1967, "would be to impose conditions on a person's release designed to reduce the likelihood of criminal acts pending trial."

Meyer's transponder system will make it possible for society to continuously observe those it declares to be misfits. Even more frightening is the prospect of control replacing observation after human beings are connected to computers; and the technology to implement this has already been developed. In *The Physical Control of the Mind* Dr. José Delgado reports that it is now possible, through electrical stimulation of the brain, to induce, inhibit, and modify such phenomena as movement, desire, sleep, rage, aggression, fear, pain, anxiety, excitement, and euphoria.—ROBERT BARKAN

Rebel Yell Academies

THE GROWING segregation academy movement is causing dire concern for liberal officials and official liberals in the South. They predict that Southern public schools will soon become all black, it will be impossible to pass school bond issues, the tax base will deteriorate, the buildings will fall in, and that will be the end of public education below Maryland. It's far more likely that, behind the furor over segregation academies, the South will quietly construct for itself a class system of education like that which already exists elsewhere in the country. The only difference is that here it will be more thorough. Public schools will turn into vocational education centers for working-class Whites and Blacks. The middle classes, all colors, will go to private college preparatory schools.

For the moment the white flight from public schools is general. Factory workers and farmers are going right along with the doctors, lawyers and other chiefs. A spring 1971 report from the Southern Regional Council estimates that nearly 500,000 Southern students are currently enrolled in segregated private schools, nearly double the figure estimated before the fall 1969 Supreme Court decision to integrate Southern schools at full speed. Next year the figures will be higher. But the figures don't show the most important fact about segregation academies: there are two kinds, rebel yell academies for working Whites and elitist independent schools for well-to-do.

Right now the rebel yell academies are riding on a wave of huzzahs and sacrifice for God, country, and white supremacy. The money that used to go to Wallace is going to protect our children from sex education and atheistic communism. (And the brother of Wallace's old campaign manager, Tom Turnipseed, is working with the very rich and very rank segregationist South Carolina Independent School Association—run by Elliott Wannemaker—with headquarters at plush Hilton Head Island and a private jet to travel around to satellite operations in other Southern states.)

But in the long run private schools simply cost too much for the ordinary factory worker and farmer. Without individual angels, most would not have been able to start at all. In one conservative North Carolina county, construction of a segregation academy was thwarted when a group of citizens dissuaded all potential angels from putting up the land and money. The Council Christian Academy (Council is for Citizens Council) in Durham, N.C., is a typical working folks' academy, with no middle classes mixed in. It started with $150,000, reportedly from a single contributor, which was enough to build a modest two-story green cinderblock school with a flag in front and a sign saying, "No trespassing: members only." The school has 244 students and 14 teachers spread out over 12 grades. On Saturday afternoons the members gather for fellowship and fiddling and, when the local school board dumps out truckloads of recent textbooks, they pick them up. But none of this will go far to raise operating capital, and without it the tuition will have to go up. When it does, the students must depart.

In black-belt counties where the whole white community has fought long and hard against integration, the segregation academies have made it a little easier. The new Warren Academy in rural North Carolina this year rented a recently closed all-black school from the county board of education for $150 a month. Next year the school board plans to close another school, this one on property deeded to the county with a clause saying that, if it wasn't used for public education, it would revert to the original owners. Those owners are behind Warren Academy, which will thus get property

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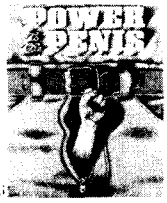
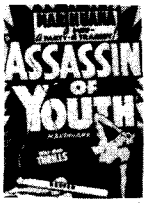


Y51 - POWER TO THE PENIS. Women's Lib? Full color on coated stock. 23" x 29". Special: **$1.98**



B46. ASSASSIN OF YOUTH. Marijuana Poster! 1920's. Multi-colored. 25" x 36" Only **$1.98**

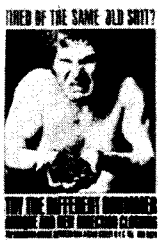
A8. NATIONAL SEX WEEK. Full Color on Heavy Stock. 11" x 17". Only **$1.00**

Any Poster in this ad FREE with order of $5.00 or more **$1** AND UP

FOR PEOPLE WITHOUT HANG-UPS YES ART POSTERS

A11. HAVE YOU HAD YOUR PILL TODAY? Forget? 23" x 29". Black on white. Only **$1.00**

Y25. FLY THE FRIENDLY SKIES. Full color. 20" x 26". Only **$1.98**



A5. TIRED OF THE SAME OLD SHIT. Printed in Brown. 23" x 35" **$1.50**

Y42. NIXON AS HIPPY. "We are ready to negotiate." 28" x 23". **$1.00**

Y39. AGNEW. The New Agnew? Looks like Photo. Sepia on Heavy Stock. 22" x 29" Only **$2.00**

B3. VIETNAM. Travel Poster Blues and Greens on white stock. 23" x 35". Only **$1.98**

Y62 #58-23-36 The Impossible Dream. Vivid black and white on glossy stock. 23" x 31" **$2.00**

Y-67 Fly United! Day glow red, blue and pink on coated stock. 17" x 22" **$1.00**

B56. SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL PLANET. Full Color Photo on Deep Blue Background. 22" x 34". **$1.98**

Y40 Shirley Chisholm and Governor Wallace Together. Black and white on heavy stock. 23" x 29" **$1.00.**

Y-11 Peace Flag. Red, blue and grey on coated stock. 24" x 34". **$2.00**

Y-7. DA VINCI AT WOOLWORTHS! Comment on Commercialism. Beautiful Full Color Reproduction on Parchment-like paper. 21" x 28". Only **$1.98**

Y55 J. Edgar Mr. FBI. Black and white on heavy stock. 19" x 23". Collectors item. **$1.50**

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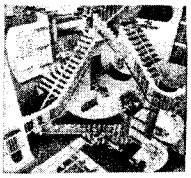
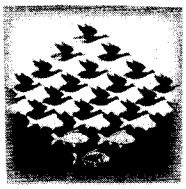
These unusual prints are printed on quality bone white art stock. Each is suitable for framing.



D-5. 18" x 24" Only **$2.98.**

D-2. 18" x 24" Only **$2.98.**



D-16. 18" x 18" Only **$2.98.**

A35. HASHISH. Photo in Mind Boggling Color. 17½" x 22". Only **$1.00**

Y5. POP-U-LU-TION Comment on Pollution and Population. Sepia on Cream Stock 29"x24". Only **$1.00**

Y8. RIGHT ARM. Blinding Red Day Glow Fist on Black (Right On!) 15" x 30" Only **$1.00**

A32 - SO WHAT! Daily Newspaper on Moon Landing. Black and white. 25" x 35". **$1.00**

Y6. PEACE COULD BE GROOVY. U.N. Symbol in Gay Day-Glow Colors—Magenta, Orange, Blue Dominate. 22½" x 28½". Only **$1.98**

I'VE GOT MY OWN PROBLEMS

Y61 I've got my own Problems. It takes a second glance to dig his problem. Black and white. 23" x 29" **$1.00**

Y30 - BLACK EXPOSURE. Monochrome photo suitable for framing. 23" x 29". Special: **$1.00**

A31. WITH LOVE, J. (Superstar Poster) Sepia on heavy stock. 23" x 29" **$1.49**

Y60 Work Diligently with integrity. You'll get your just reward. Full color on heavy stock. 12" x 17" **$1.00**

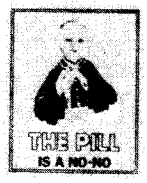
Y2. EROTIC DESIGN #1 by Eric Losfeld. Rust brown on coated stock. 23" x 29" Only **$2.50**

Y3. EROTIC DESIGN #2 by Eric Losfeld. Rust brown on coated stock. 23" x 29" Only **$2.50**

Y100. STICKY YIPPY POSTER MOUNT. Brainstorm of hippie chemist forced to switch pads fast and frequently to avoid busts. Weird "stuff" instantly (and professionally) affixes posters to plaster, wallpaper, wood, brick, concrete—any surface! But (get this!) is reuseable over and over, so you can move or change posters in 3 seconds flat! Ends tack holes, tape marks, torn edges. Enough for 6 (or 600!) posters, only **$1.00.**

B54. SQUIRE ARLINGTON'S PIG. Full color photo of 1890 store plaque. 23" x 29" **$1.98**

Y-10 Don't Burn Your Flag - Wash It! Color Photo. 24" x 35". **$2.00**



A12. THE PILL IS A NO-NO. Pope Paul on the Pill. Brown and black on white. 23" x 29" **$1.00**

B40. SHIT. Unusual Artwork Slows Recognition Time: Matte red, blue and green. 23" x 23". Only **$1.98**

B-41 LOVE Famous love design printed in vivid Red, Green and Blue. 30" x 30" **$1.98**

B23. GRETA. Painted lady on Motorcycle Full Color Photo. 29" x 42". Only **$1.98**

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A-32	A-34	A-35	B-3	B-71
B-18	B-19	B-20	B-21	B-23
B-40	B-41	B-46	B-54	B-55
B-56	D-2	D-5	D-16	Y-2
Y-3	Y-5	Y-6	Y-7	Y-8
Y-10	Y-11	Y-25	Y-26	Y-30
Y-39	Y-40	Y-42	Y-51	Y-55
Y-60	Y-61	Y-62	Y-63	Y-67
				Y-100

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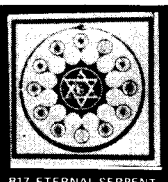
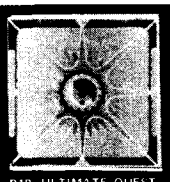
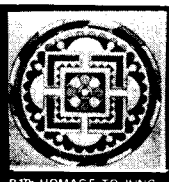


B17 ETERNAL SERPENT



B18 ULTIMATE QUEST



B19 HOMAGE TO JUNG

B20 YINYANG MANDALA

B21 LIFE CHART

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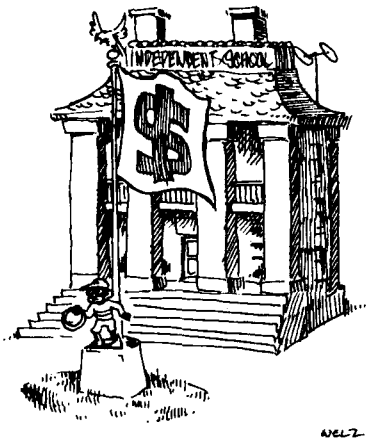
and a new building for free.

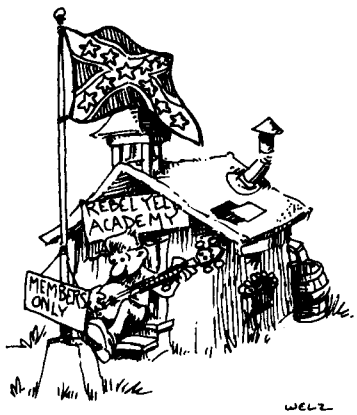
But even with big opening gifts and windfalls, the academies for working Whites are having it tough, especially at the high school level where segregation really counts. The Division for Non-Public Schools of the State Department of Public Instruction in North Carolina was founded on the theory that, since non-public schools exist, the state must regulate them to protect the children. The Division establishes minimal fire and safety standards as well as curriculum, teacher-pupil ratio, and teacher preparation requirements. In practice the standards are much lower than for public schools; teachers, for example, need only two years of college. Even so, in the middle of the 1970–71 school year, 50 out of 230 private schools in North Carolina were not approved, leaving the parents of students enrolled in those schools open to prosecution for violating the state's compulsory school attendance laws. Though no one has ever been prosecuted, the Division of Non-Public Schools wields enough power through simply publishing the names of unapproved schools to have acquired many political enemies among those segregationists who can't afford to buy library books or pay good teachers or put up a safe building.

The Division was wisely and quietly established in 1967. It would be politically impossible to set it up now, as other Southern states have recently found. This spring, efforts to establish state regulations for private schools in Florida were roundly defeated. And in other states the general assemblies are so completely in the hands of the segregationists that it is pointless to



even try. In South Carolina, the Independent School Association publishes its own standards for membership, modelled on North Carolina standards. But the Association's principal standard is flexibility.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS SEGREGATION academies have no problems with minimal standards or with money. Tuition is high; parents are required to put up property bonds or fork over big contributions for new buildings; and, when the schools sponsor fund-raising events, it's not fellowship and fiddling—it's New York sirloin for 700, at $10 a head. Academic standards are equivalent to those in public schools, pupil-teacher ratios are often better, and most students come out of privileged backgrounds. In school they get a maximum of the old-



fashioned academic disciplines and a minimum of white supremacy talk. As in the North, racism does not have to be taught—it is assimilated.

These schools merge into the non-segregated, private school movement which is also growing in the South. And the 1970 IRS decision to refuse tax-exempt status to private schools practicing racial discrimination and to cease to treat gifts to such schools as charitable contributions is going to hasten this merger. According to the Southern Regional Council Report, *The South and Her Children,* IRS is issuing favorable rulings purely on the basis of written statements from schools saying their policy is non-discriminatory. This works only to the disadvantage of schools which refuse on principle to issue a compliance statement, like the fundamentalist

church school which closed last fall in Durham because the board considered it self-betrayal to say they weren't segregated. The church fathers wouldn't even let black people in the sanctuary, much less the school. None of the middle-class segregation academies stand on such firm principles. And in time many are likely to accept a few middle-class Blacks. After all, even the South responds to TV.

The merger of elitist segregation academies with elitist non-segregated schools will also be hastened by the flight of liberals from public schools. They don't leave because they detest integration, but instead because they fear the consequences of integration—top-heavy black-white ratios, disruptions in the halls, and general non-learning and chaos in the classroom. But their children are going to solid private schools with at least token Blacks. They talk the proper values and prepare the children for the proper place in life. Eventually that's where the middle-class segregation academies will go, for that's really all they're interested in. The others will fold.

Already, while more private schools are opening every year, there are indications that some don't last. North Carolina now has 230 private schools (10 of them all-black), and at least another 28 will open next Fall. But some 45 of these schools have closed since 1965. Official figures do not distinguish between segregated and non-segregated private schools, and some of the closings have been of the latter variety. Nevertheless, the beginnings of a pattern are showing up, and it's an old familiar pattern: rebel yells come and go, the middle class stays forever. —ELIZABETH TORNQUIST

Illustrations by Larry Wel

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Mayday

BRAIN SURGERY FOR ADDICTS: An experimental rebirth of psychosurgery at the University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston has a team of specialists performing surgery on patients who have received unsuccessful psychotherapy for several years.

In the last three years, 27 patients have received the operation known as "cingulumotomy" and the experiment is said by the specialists to be an "excellent approach" to problems of alcoholism and drug addiction.

In a prepared statement about the results of the cingulumotomies, psychiatrist Winston Martin said: "The procedure either helps or completely rids the patient of his emotional illness. Candidates for the operation are always referred by psychiatrists, and are always patients who have had from three to five years of chronic mental illness that has been treated without lasting benefit.

Although no exact statistics on the results of the survey are given, the recent report says that there has been a "15 percent incidence of post operative seizures, but these are easily controlled by drugs."

As performed at the hospital, the procedure involves the coagulation of a small spot in the cingulum, the fibrous tissue that connects the front with the middle portion of the brain.

Neurosurgeon Glenn Meyer at the hospital described the operations as follows: "Very small burr holes are drilled through the skull some 24 hours prior to the cingulumotomy. During the actual procedure, the cingulum bundle is touched with an electric probe which coagulates a very small portion of this area—two lesions about an inch and a quarter by a quarter of an inch are made, bilaterally—to put this area out of action." The cingulumotomy itself requires no anesthesia. Drilling of the minute burr holes is done under a local anesthesia.

Meyer defended the new psychosurgery, saying it is "quite different from a lobotomy." Although still an "evolving, developmental operation," he said, "we have determined that it does not cause personality deterioration nor the serious complications that some other surgery has been responsible for."

Two other team members say that the surgery is "nothing short of spectacular," and IQ test scores have gained in many cases after the cingulumotomy.

In addition to a number of personality and intelligence tests, patients are given a battery of some 40 perceptual motor tests to determine the effects of the surgery on muscle movement and the brain's data processing.

According to the researchers, the hospital complex is the first place in the country to test "in such fine detail the wide spectrum of sensory motor function pre- and post-operatively on patients who have received cingulumotomies."

—*Psychiatric News,* Dec. 16, 1970

COMMON CAUSE: In a marriage of real interests, Joe Napolitan, chief Democratic-image man, and Cliff White, the prominent Republican campaign strategist, recently joined in creating Public Affairs Analysts, a new firm aimed at exploiting corporations, universities, foreign governments, and other king-makers behind both parties.

In 1968, Napolitan advised Hubert Humphrey; and he helped Marcos win the Presidency of the Philippines in 1969. He was employed by Howard Hughes; and Tony Boyle wanted to hire him too, but Joe ducked that one. Cliff White was the mastermind of James Buckley's shrewd upset in New York, and he assisted Goldwater in 1964. Together Napolitan and White will lobby bills through Congress and help police departments improve their programs. As one expert explained it, "I've told Sam Brown that I could figure out a scheme to make his Moratorium work."

CHICANO GUINEA PIGS: Eleven babies have been born to Chicano women who were given dummy pills at a birth control research center where they went to get contraceptives. The "volunteers" were not told of the experiment which was intended to prove that symptoms associated with the pills (such as headaches and depression) are psychological in origin. Dr. Joseph Goldzieher, who conducted the experiment, says that pregnancies are "probably due to the women's carelessness" in using the "FDA-approved vaginal creams" which they were told would supplement the pills. He conceded that "None of the women were told that they might get pregnant. If you think you can explain a placebo test to women like these, you never met Mrs. Gomez from the West Side."

—*Liberation News Service*

STRIKE-BREAKING PAYS: The government is stepping in to help out Bud Antle, Inc., the big Salinas Valley lettuce grower who is fighting Cesar Chavez. Last year the Defense Department purchased 8 percent of all its lettuce from Antle. In the first quarter of 1971, 30 percent of all DoD lettuce came from Antle and meanwhile the Agriculture Department hands Antle subsidies totalling $625,000.

Photograph by George Ballis

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Foreign Reports

Generals of the New Army

"The solution in Vietnam is more bombs, more shells, more napalm . . . till the other side cracks and gives up."

Lt. General William DePuy

WHILE THE USUAL NOISES are being made about the "new" army that is to emerge as a result of the lessons learned from our "mistakes" in Vietnam, the "new" generals have a discouragingly familiar look about them. Lt. General William DePuy, the man most often mentioned as a possible successor to Westmoreland, is a case in point. A World War II troop commander, DePuy was sent to Vietnam in 1964 as a colonel to be Westmoreland's Assistant Chief of Staff for Operations. From there he rose to Major General in command of the 1st Infantry Division, then returned to Washington as special assistant for counter-insurgency and special activities with the Joint Chiefs. Now he is Assistant Chief of Staff of the Army.

From the beginning, DePuy pushed for greater American participation in the ground fighting, and reportedly played a major role in Westmoreland's request for more ground troops in 1965. Apparently DePuy suffered from a common assumption, that U.S. troops could come in and clean up the Communist guerrillas in a short time, thereby actually cutting U.S. casualties over the long haul. As Westmoreland's J3 officer (operations), DePuy was the major architect for search and destroy. DePuy badly wanted a combat command position, and in March 1966 was rewarded with command of the 1st Infantry, the Big Red One.

In the 1st Division, DePuy was known for his toughness. In one AP dispatch Peter Arnett described him as using a "mixture of ruthlessness, talent and exact leadership." DePuy insisted that his battallion commanders "perform" and, to impress this upon them, he kept a chart in the divisional tactical operations center which rated each battallion according to DePuy's favorite index—body count. During the early weeks of his command, DePuy relieved five battalion commanders for failing to get a high enough body count. Four or five other commanders were sacked for artillery errors.

DePuy was a great believer in the use and over-use of artillery and air-support, both of which, of course, were principal sources of civilian war casualties. He is quoted in a memorandum of conversation with Daniel Ellsberg in January 1967 as saying, "even against a squad of snipers I'd use an air strike. . . ." Grey Hayward, his former aide, recalls that DePuy was particularly impressed by the actual number of artillery rounds his

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division shot off on a single day. A favorite goal was to expend 10,000 rounds in a 24-hour period, a quantity that was unprecedented for an American division. DePuy's approach to war was summed up in comments to Ellsberg at his headquarters in Lai Khe, "The solution in Vietnam is more bombs, more shells, more napalm . . . till the other side cracks and gives up.

"We're winning the war. We're killing VC, guerrillas, Main Forces, destroying their bases, destroying caches of food and weapons, we're getting more Chieu Hoi. If people in Washington want to win fast—if they're in a hurry, because of elections or something—they could move five more divisions over here and get the job done faster. But if they're not in such a hurry, we can do the job with what we've got. . . ." He continued, "Pacification hasn't worked anywhere. But the 1st Division is doing one thing: killing guerrillas."

Terrorism through firepower is the cornerstone of his concept. DePuy told Ellsberg, "I don't have much faith in our brainpower, only in our firepower." In his memo, Ellsberg recounts a high U.S. official's amazement at DePuy in action, riding around in his chopper spraying clumps of trees with machinegun fire for two hours in an elusive hunt for a couple of Vietcong. All during the time, DePuy never called in ground troops, although a platoon from his own division was never more than a few hundred feet distant.

DePuy's reluctance to use ground troops against the Vietcong was hardly an outgrowth of his concern for the safety of his men. In fact, he was one of the first U.S. commanders to use his own men as bait. He did this in the Minh Thanh Road ambush—a firefight that took place about a month before Operation Attleboro in early 1966. Knowing that his Vietnamese counterparts were plagued by security leaks, DePuy let it be known that he was planning to send an engineer battalion down a road in his tactical area of operations that ran from Tay Ninh city to the Minh Thanh rubber plantation. DePuy sent the 1st battallion of the 4th cavalry down the road, then positioned two artillery battallions as well as three infantry battallions in a cordon around the place where he expected an ambush. Sure enough, the Vietcong struck and were plastered by the waiting artillery and air strikes; but the unit used as bait sustained 40 percent casualties. Having gained a huge body count at Minh Thanh Road DePuy pretty much won his reputation as *the* ground commander in Vietnam.

DePuy created his "club" of disciples in Vietnam, and it's interesting to see where these men have gone. General Haig, DePuy's intelligence officer, is now Henry Kissinger's military advisor. General Zais, DePuy's assistant division commander, went on to command the 101st Airborne, then the 24th Corps in the northern part of South Vietnam. Another aide, General Hollingsworth, was put in charge of Aberdeen Proving Ground, then took command of basic training at Fort Jackson.

Pakistan

FEARFUL LEST CHINA'S support of West Pakistan lead to an even greater Chinese influence in that part of the Asian subcontinent, the United States has lavished the West Pakistan government with arms since the start of its war against East Pakistan (Bangla Desh). At first the State Department, protesting U.S. neutrality, said it had been informed that "no military items have been provided to the government of Pakistan or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan March 25, and nothing is now scheduled for such delivery." Subsequently, at least two Pakistani freighters were reported to have carried large shipments of military goods supplied by the U.S. Air Force from New York to Karachi. The military items include eight aircraft, parachutes, and hundreds of thousands of spare parts and accessories for planes and military vehicles. Denying the existence of this traffic, the director of

General Yahya Khan

the Office of Munitions Control recently claimed that, if there were rifles aboard, "they're sporting type . . . for use in safaris." However, the State Department later acknowledged the continued shipment of U.S. weapons to Pakistan.

Joseph Sisco, the State Department's Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, is particularly concerned that the United States maintain friendly relations with Pakistan. Though some of his assistants are reportedly distressed at his choice of strategy, Sisco largely determines U.S. policy toward that country. Before U.S. shipment of weapons to Pakistan was exposed, a State Department letter to Senator Fulbright confirmed that, "the continuing military supply program . . . has been and continues to be an important element in our overall bilateral relationship with Pakistan. All past experience suggests that the suspension of U.S. military sales will not shut off a flow of supplies from other sources. Thus, an absolute suspension regardless of developing circumstances would not significantly affect the military situation in East Pakistan and could have a strongly adverse political impact on our relations with Pakistan. . . . It would therefore appear desirable for the U.S. to be able to continue to supply limited quantities of military items to Pakistan to enable us both to maintain a constructive bilateral political dialogue and to help ensure that Pakistan is not compelled to rely on other sources of supply."

Photograph by Wide World

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It is likely that U.S. military assistance to the Pakistan government is far more extensive than is known since, with few exceptions, the types and amounts of military aid to Pakistan are classified. Senator Fulbright requested a full account of U.S. military involvement there from the State Department and was told "the Department is unable to accede to your request without departing from the established procedure." Although American officials in Dacca have continued to send the State Department factual information concerning the situation in East Pakistan, this material has not been made available to members of Congress.

SINCE 1954, THE UNITED STATES has supplied Pakistan with weaponry on a fairly massive scale. Between 1954 and 1965 military aid is estimated at $1.5 to $2 billion. This aid included F-104 starfighters, Patton tanks, armored personnel carriers, and automatic and recoilless infantry weapons. During Pakistan's brief border war with India in 1965, the U.S. allegedly interrupted shipment of all military goods to Pakistan, but resumed export of "nonlethal" military supplies in 1966. Since 1967, sales of nonlethal goods have been running just under $10 million annually; 25 percent of these sales—$2.5 million worth—have consisted of ammunition. According to the State Department, this supply of ammunition is needed "to keep previously supplied U.S. equipment operational, in the belief that to allow this equipment to become inoperative would compel Pakistan to purchase more expensive and modern replacements, possibly causing diversion of resources from economic development to defense and fueling an arms race in the subcontinent."

In 1970, the United States announced a "one-time" exception to its military supply policy and offered to sell Pakistan 300 armored personnel carriers, several F-104 jet fighters, B-57 bombers, and maritime reconnaissance aircraft; these sales are not yet complete. Except for the 1965 India-Pakistan War, the only use Pakistan has made of its imported weaponry has been against the civilian population of East Pakistan.

Over the last 20 years, the United States has given Pakistan more than $4.5 billion in aid. The U.S. has led an eleven-nation aid-to-Pakistan consortium with an annual gift of $200 million, which has enabled West Pakistan to buy $100 million worth of military equipment from other countries over recent years. Even if the U.S. suspended military support, continued economic assistance would amount to subsidization of the war against East Pakistan. Robert Dorfman, an economist at Harvard, testified before the subcommittee on Asian-Pacific Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, that "to subjugate the rest of the countryside [in East Pakistan] where most of the people live . . . is more of a task than Pakistan can afford to carry out. It requires force of upwards of 50,000 troops at the end of a supply line 3000 miles long, and they are already a poor country in deep financial difficulties. In the past year, their foreign exchange reserves have been drawn down from over $300 million to less than $170 million. . . . Their annual foreign expenses and disruptions of warfare, is over $500 million. . . . In fact, at the moment it appears that Pakistan is desperately seeking a moratorium on its debt installments that fall due this month. This means that if the war is to go on for more than a few months and essential imports are to be procured, outsiders are going to have to provide the resources, and the United States is the principal traditional source of external funds for Pakistan. By and large, American grants and loans have amounted to about $250 million a year. . . . This covers about half of Pakistan's adverse balance of trade. Therefore, the continued flow of American grants and loans is the most important immediate objective in West Pakistan's strategy, more important by far than any military operation."

The State Department claims that Pakistan has received no U.S. economic loans since March 27 besides those earmarked for specific projects. This is probably false, but some factions within the government apparently do wish to cut off economic aid. Recently, the eleven-nation aid-to-Pakistan consortium agreed to postpone any further economic assistance after a mission from the World Bank reported that the country was a shambles. (Pakistan has been the world's second largest recipient of World Bank loans over recent years, led only by India.) The United States went along with the decision, although some U.S. officials objected strenuously; a State Department spokesman subsequently denied that any such agreement had been reached.

WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, Congressional response to the war reflects the State Department's reluctance to let Pakistan slip away. Senators Case and Mondale have introduced a resolution calling for the suspension of U.S. military assistance until the war is over. Senators Church and Saxbe have introduced an amendment to the Foreign Assistance bill which suspends both military and economic aid to Pakistan until food and medical relief, supervised by an international agency, is instituted on a regular basis throughout East Pakistan, and the majority of Pakistani refugees are repatriated. Representative Gallagher has introduced in the House a similar amendment, which requires that no military equipment provided by the U.S. to any other country should be transferred to the government of Pakistan. (When the U.S. cut off aid during the India-Pakistan war of 1965, Iran and Afghanistan pledged their support to the Pakistan government, and Iran shipped it some spare parts.) However, several moderates in Congress argue that cutting off aid would aggravate the wretched situation of the Pakistanis; for that reason Senator Kennedy refused to sponsor the Saxbe-Church amendment. Of course, this is simply a more humanitarian way of stating the State Department's basic position, i.e., that the U.S. dare not jeopardize its position on the subcontinent by letting go of General Yahya.

Continued aid would have to be administered by the military government of West Pakistan, which has refused to permit aid distribution by foreigners. To determine how relief distribution would be managed, it is instructive to examine how such efforts were conducted last November in East

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Pakistan following the cyclone. The central government never allowed the majority of funds given for cyclone relief even to reach the eastern provisional government, much less make its way to the survivors. Fifty boats supplied by the U.S. for use in relief efforts were reportedly taken over by the army and are now being used in military operations *against* East Pakistan. According to a physician who took part in the relief effort, "the cyclone provided up to $50 million in much-needed hard currency to the military government of Pakistan. Relief monies was one of the largest earners of foreign exchange in 1970."

Currently, with East Pakistan close to famine, army control over relief food supplies will convert them into further measures of coercion. Only areas over which the army has full control will receive food. Oxfam, the British relief agency, says "It is manifest that the army will have to use hunger as a deliberate weapon against the bulk of the people of East Pakistan. Any aid, therefore, which enters that country under the terms of the army government will be used to support that policy in East Pakistan or will be used, as much of the aid already given to East and West Pakistan already has been used, to support the army operations in East Pakistan." The U.S. has given $17.5 million in relief funds for East Pakistani refugees in India. This amount will help care for the refugees in that country for three days at most.

China has openly supported the West Pakistan government. It pledged Pakistan $200 million credit last Fall and recently promised to give a $70 million loan against that amount. China's position may simply reflect traditional Chinese antipathy toward India, which has expressed support of East Pakistan; it might also involve a subtle attempt to aggravate the tense situation existing between India and Pakistan. With over six million refugees in India, the danger of war between the two countries is acute. But China has other reasons for interest in the West Pakistan government—it recently completed a road through Pakistan to the Indian Ocean.

Despite the tentative decision to cut some of its economic assistance to West Pakistan, and its expressions of concern for the East Pakistani refugees in India, the U.S. continues to support Yahya Kahn, thus propping up a military dictatorship which is vainly striving to contain a movement of national liberation.

—FRANCES LANG

Detroit's Asia Strategy

THE THREE MAJOR U.S. auto-makers are in a feverish race to get a grip on the Japanese auto industry and capture control of the mass markets in Asia. Generally they pursue a common strategy which runs as follows: Manufacturing operations are based in South Africa and Australia, two white-controlled old bastions of the British Empire which now act as springboards for the jump into Asia. These base plants are supplemented by parts-and-assembly operations in other Asian countries where wages are particularly low. Recently U.S. companies bought into Japanese auto-makers with an eye to capturing part of the Japanese luxury car market and cashing in on Japanese car export sales, most of them in the U.S. At a later date these investments may piggy-back Detroit into China. Finally, the plan is for the big three auto-makers to begin mass production of inexpensive automobiles and trucks in the poor countries of Asia in order to develop and capture this market of over one blilion people.

If successful, the overall result of the strategy will be to forestall independent auto development in Asia, meet the Japanese on equal footing, and keep control of the world auto industry in Detroit.

So far the U.S. companies are meeting with considerable success. Ford's subsidiary. Ford Asia Pacific & South Africa, with headquarters at Melbourne, is in charge of coordinating activities of the basic Ford plants in Australia and South Africa with assembly operations in the Philippines, Singapore, New Zealand and Thailand. Ford is negotiating to purchase a 20 percent initial interest in Toyo Kogyo Company, the Japanese auto-maker which sells Mazda cars and trucks. In resisting this investment, the company president warned that holdings of more than 25 percent "would be tantamount to being taken over by the U.S. company." But Henry Ford insists he doesn't want to take over Toyo. In March when he was in Japan, he declared, "We would have representation on the board of directors and initially one or two residents in Hiroshima. We would expect to participate in major operating and policy decisions, but we would not have any positive authority —that would continue to reside with Mr. Matsuda and the Japanese management." The deal eventually may bring Ford together with Toyota, Japan's leading auto manufacturer because, in an effort to stave off a Ford takeover, Japanese interests (including the Toyota group) are considering a major capital investment in Toyo.

Ford also wants to build cars on its own for the Asian mass markets. Henry Ford said recently, "In South Korea, Taiwan and Indonesia we see promising markets and an attractive supply of cheap labor." Tentative plans call for developing a car which could be sold for as little as $800, built from local materials by Asian workers. Eventually such a vehicle could be assembled in such places as Cambodia, Laos or Papua-New Guinea. One idea is to make a plywood body with a rugged frame and a two-cylinder engine.

G.M. operations, also based in Melbourne under General Motors Holden's Pty. Ltd., is in charge of activities throughout the Asia, Pacific and South African theaters. G.M. maintains assembly plants in Malaysia, the Philippines and New Zealand. New assembly plants are scheduled for opening in Indonesia and Taiwan. G.M. was prepared to settle for a 20 percent investment in a Japanese auto-maker, but the Sato government, apparently fearful of offending the company, announced G.M. was expected to demand a 35 percent investment in Isuzu Motors Ltd., a big truck-maker. On

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learning this G.M. immediately pressed for and apparently will receive a 35 percent interest.

A Chrysler subsidiary in Australia coordinates activities in Asia, but is under control of Chrysler International in Geneva. Chrysler assembles cars and trucks in the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore. Chrysler bought an initial 15 percent interest in Mitsubishi Motors. The amount is less than the G.M. and Ford investments, but that may reflect Chrysler's own sliding fortunes in the U.S. At any rate, the investment is scheduled to increase to 35 percent by 1973. Under the terms of the deal, Chrysler is marketing Mitsubishi's small passenger car, the Dodge Colt, in the U.S. It is also making Mitsubishi autos in South Africa and Australian plants, and Mitsubishi hopes Chrysler will make available facilities in France and Britain also. Next Fall, Mitsubishi will begin importing Valiants into Japan from Chrysler plants in Australia.

These take-over maneuverings are long-term arrangements. For the time being Japanese auto-makers are in a bad slump. Overcapacity is such that the Japanese industry could produce at least one million more vehicles than it now does with existing plants. Domestic markets are thoroughly saturated and likely to stay that way. The solution is foreign expansion: in 1967, 12 percent of production was exported; last year nearly one quarter of all autos produced were exported, most to the U.S.

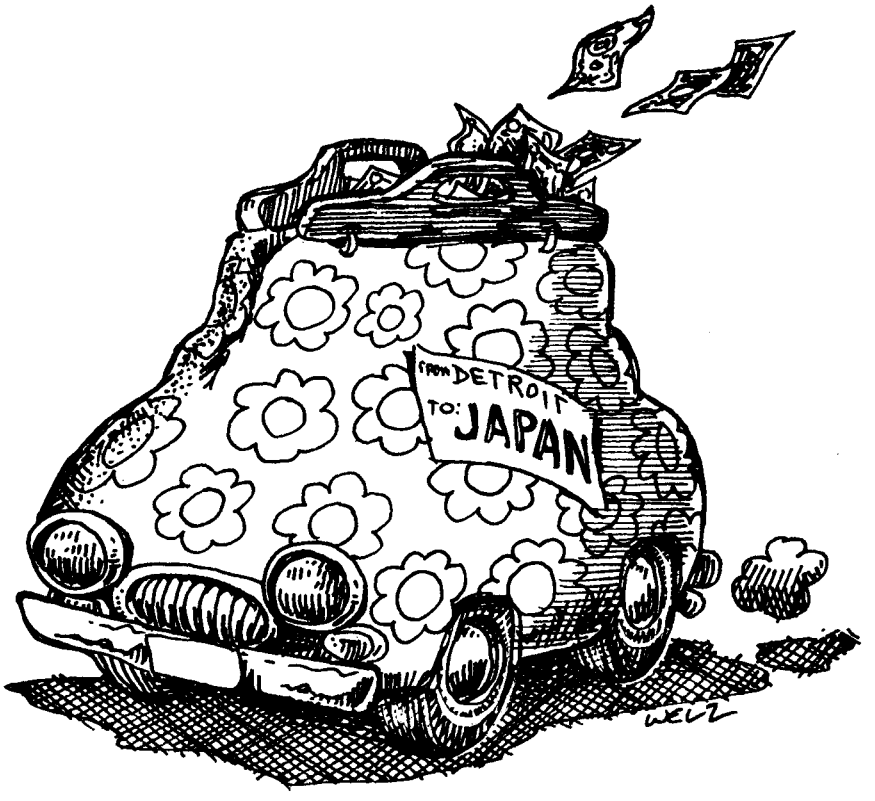
THE JAPANESE ARE ANXIOUS to sell more vehicles to China, which last year announced its intention to purchase "several tens of thousands" of trucks and buses from Japan. This wouldn't amount to much when set against the 400,000 units exported each year to the U.S. However, the China market is likely to increase, and it is one way out of the Japanese auto glut. To do business with China, the Japanese firms must adhere to the Four Principles laid down by Chou En-lai last spring during Sino-Japanese trade talks. China will not do business with any Japanese firms that (1) played even a small role in assisting the aggressive regimes on Taiwan and in South Korea; (2) made capital investments in either Taiwan or South Korea; (3) supplied munitions to the U.S. for use in its Indochina war; or (4) had joint business ventures with U.S. firms. In addition there was the general principle that "politics and economics are inseparable."

Toyota, the number-one Japanese auto-maker, wants to do business in China. To meet the terms of the Four Principles, the company renounced plans for an engine plant in South Korea, but said it would continue to trade with both South Korea and Taiwan. At the same time, Toyota announced plans to assemble autos in Taiwan under a license arrangement with Lio-Ho Automobile Industrial Corporation, but claimed that the arrangement did not violate the Four Principles because it was not a capital investment. (The autos are assembled in the northern part of Taiwan where wages are considered low even for Taiwan. Average wage for a worker is $28.30 a month.) Two weeks after the arrangements with Lio-Ho Automobile were confirmed, the Chinese table tennis team visited Toyota's Japanese plant, and placed a sample order for a truck, a bus and a passenger car. Toyota's group already has benefitted from trade with China through associated companies. Hino Motors and Suzuki Motor Company.

Nissan Motor Company, the number-two Japanese auto-maker, sold 400 trucks to China. Nissan hopes for more business from China now that Isuzu Motors is barred from China trade because of its pending tie-up with G.M. As in the case of Toyota, Nissan Motors also has a tie-up with a company on Taiwan which assembles about 10,000 passenger cars a year. Nissan claims that this is a technical aid agreement which does not violate the Four Principles.

Meanwhile, the U.S. auto-makers are anxious to get into China. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, created by the former head of G.M., took the lead in financing activities of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, the leading China trade lobby in the U.S. The Ford Foundation is also a large financial supporter of the committee as is the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

—JAMES RIDGEWAY



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Latin America: The Left on the Move

by John Gerassi

In October 1967, Washington counter-insurgency experts were understandably jubilant. With the death of Che Guevara and the failure of the Bolivian revolutionary *foco,* they thought serious left-wing agitation in Latin America would end—at least for the forseeable future. In fact it did the very opposite. In Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Peru, while Che's death did indeed lead to the abandonment of his continental theory of revolution, it also stimulated new revolutionary thought and groups, and brought the struggle in less than four years to dramatic and unexpected results. In all five of these countries today, the left is either on the road to power or in the process of consolidating actual victories. It is no longer trying self-consciously to mimic the Cuban experience, no longer courageously (but inopportunely) launching rural guerrilla adventures, no longer volunteeristically declaiming that the objective conditions for revolution need only the development of subjective leadership. Rather the left is now soundly grounding its strategy and tactics in local reality; and that reality, although it varies in all five countries, seems to exclude precisely the Che (Regis Debray) model of guerrilla *foco.*

Because of the Tupamaros' spectacular exploits, it is Uruguay which has received most publicity. Indeed the *Tupas* have repeatedly robbed supposedly impregnable banks and gambling casinos, assaulted police headquarters, kidnapped high government officials, captured official radio stations long enough to broadcast 12-minute manifestoes, and, in general, convinced the country's 2.9 million people that they are invincible—despite massive US counter-insurgency aid to the government. But most importantly, the *Tupas* have helped radicalize that population, so much so that today all liberal and left-wing forces are united in one formidable front and that has been *Tupamaros'* strategy from the beginning.

Organized by socialist party cadremen as early as 1961, the *Tupamaros,* which are armed forces of the clandestine Movement of National Liberation (MLN), never intended to seize power simply through violence. Their goal was, and is, to help build a mass political consciousness. Until 1963 their activity was limited to helping the non-unionized and exploited sugar workers of interior Uruguay to win bread-and-butter demands. Only when the government veered sharply to the right, broke relations with Cuba, installed press censorship and launched widespread repression did the *Tupas* begin their "retaliation." Although some of the money they stole went to help finance their own activities, much was distributed to the needy. By making public the official documents they seized in banks or ministries, the *Tupas* exposed government corruption and showed up the collusion existing between the rich, the USAID programs, and the elected officials. In exchange for the release of kidnapped officials, the *Tupas* forced the government to distribute food to the needy and, in one dramatic case, to build a free workers clinic, winning the population's admiration and a great deal of cooperation as well.

"From 1967 on," one *Tupa* told me in Montevideo last June, "we were strong enough to seize power. But what good would that have done? The gorillas [right-wing generals] in Argentina and Brazil would have descended on tiny Uruguay and crushed us. Besides, the people might have cheered us, but would not have fought for us. Our people have to learn that it is for themselves that they are fighting. They have to *want* power. That takes years of politicization. We have to wait." Waiting, of course, has been costly not only to the government but to the *Tupas* themselves. The police also are learning from the struggle, and, as it has been intensified, the *Tupas* have begun to suffer serious losses. Scores have been killed, and there are currently over 100 in jail, including Raúl Sendic, once a socialist party official and one of the original leaders of the MLN. Also, as US counter-insurgency experts have taken over command of the hunt, torture has become a standard part of the government's retaliation. That was why the *Tupas* executed Dan Mitrione, the CIA's super-sleuth, whose office was in Montevideo's police headquarters.

With general elections scheduled for this November, it is campaign time in Uruguay now. In the past, only two parties have jockeyed for power: the *Blancos* (Whites), by and large representing the landed population and the *Colorados* (Reds), strong especially in Montevideo, where half of Uruguay's people live. But now a third party will be on the ballot, a united front which is so vast that it has official support from Moscow to Rome, joining together under a single banner the Communist and Christian Democratic parties, as well as Trotskyists, anarchists, pro-*Tupamaro* militants, left liberals and dissidents from the two major parties. The *Frente Amplio* offers none of the usual "advantages" (pork barrel posts, concessions, contracts, etc.) in exchange for votes; presidential candidate, General Liber Seregni, who once ruled Montevideo's army but resigned when ordered to use his troops for repression, promises only hard times ahead. Yet in a few short months, and starting from scratch with neither the press nor the airwaves in its favor, the *Frente* has become the front-runner, so much so that there is a great deal of talk that Pacheco will cancel the election. "That is why we will not

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negotiate Geoffrey Jackson's release," a *Tupa* told me, referring to the British Ambassador who was kidnapped by the MLN several months ago. "He and the other three prisoners are one way we are trying to make sure the elections take place. Also, as long as we hold these four, there is a good chance our people in their jails are not tortured."

Ideologically the *Tupamaros* are opposed to the electoral process—on the grounds that it is always corrupted by money, which in an underdeveloped country means control by the oligarchy and US corporations. But the main objective of the MLN is to politicize and radicalize the people, and, since Uruguayans are still hoping that structural change can be achieved through elections, the *Tupas* will not hinder them. In fact, they have given qualified support to the *Frente Amplio* and, should it win, will give it a chance to prove it means what it says by developing Uruguay into a peaceful, independent socialist state. "Each country makes its revolution its way," said my *Tupamaro* contact. "Uruguay's way may end up being by the ballot. We shall see. But we shall not disarm, and if gorillas, egged on by US imperialists, try to interfere in our process, we will be there to help and lead our people in revolutionary battle."

BRAZIL, AS EVERYONE KNOWS, has become the most privileged of the imperialized countries in Latin America. It has received more US aid than the rest of Latin America combined, more new US investment in the last three years than the whole rest of the Third World. The northeast and deep south may be impoverished, but central Brazil, and especially São Paulo, is booming. Coincidentally, the prisons are full, and prisoners are tortured to death every day. although opposition is actually weak. The various urban guerrilla groups are hurting badly and the traditional left is dead, exiled, or silent. Spurred by their success, Brazil's military dictators have developed messianic complexes; they consider their historical role to be not only the suppression of their own leftists, but the rest of the continents' as well. Hence they view with increasing alarm, and itchy trigger-fingers, what is happening around them, not only in Uruguay, but more seriously in Bolivia.

They are quite right. For in Bolivia, where the military successfully wiped out Che's *foco,* and where the military still rules, real power is rapidly being captured by a type of soviet—of workers, miners, peasants and students. More incredibly, this is happening with the encouragement of the military itself.

This development seems strange only to outsiders. To Bolivians it is the normal consequence of a long struggle which began with the national bourgeois revolution of 1952. In those days, the US, which held few assets in Bolivia, backed the new regime in the hope of acquiring whatever mines and refineries would be taken away from the native oligarchs. But in so doing it had to side, indirectly at least, with the only major popular force then organized, the tin miners, without whom the established military apparatus, trained by ex-Nazis, could not have been defeated. From then on, the miners' union, led by a soccer player named Juan Lechín, naturally increased its political strength and often brought succeeding governments to the brink of collapse. Some governments tried to curtail their power by jailing and killing their leaders, firing thousands of workers, and sending tanks and troops to pacify the den of dynamite-throwing miners. Others tried to woo miners by giving them higher pay and more say in the affairs of the country. Either way, the miners and their federation (COB) were politicized and toughened. One of Che Guevara's great failings was not to understand the COB's strength. He did talk to Lechín who promised his help, but, for all of Lechín's popularity, real power rested in each mine's COB unit, not in their combined titular leader, who spent much of the '60s in exile in Chile.

Che's venture, however, did radicalize the peasants, for although few joined his guerrilla force, many of them began to refer to him as Santo Che after his death. The growing popular agitation then convinced the very military who had defeated Che to espouse nationalistic policies. Thus General Alfredo Ovando Candia, one of the brains behind the 1967 anti-guerrilla war, expropriated the Santa Cruz oil fields from Gulf in 1969 when he was President. Ovando also rehired 4000 miners fired by his predecessor and gave a bigger voice to the COB in the country's state mining corporation (COMIBOL). Then in May 1970, the COB held its fourth National Congress and voted one principal demand: that Bolivia begin the transition towards socialism through rule by a popular assembly. That was too much for Ovando, and he said so, but he could do little about it one way or the other. And in October he was overthrown by the current president, General Juan José Torres. To keep his rule, however, Torres has had to gain popular support. He nationalized more US holdings, threw the Peace Corps out of Bolivia and made contact with the army of national liberation (ELN), which had picked up Che's banner and was continuing guerrilla warfare in the urban centers. The ELN responded to Torres' peace overtures with one condition: convoke the popular assembly. As Torres hesitated, right-wing military commanders began to plot his overthrow. Only the people can save you now, the COB and the ELN told him. Torres mobilized all his security forces—but it wasn't enough and he knew it. Finally, at the end of June, he gave in.

It was something to see. Arriving by broken-down bus or requisitioned army truck from all parts of Bolivia, and brandishing Mausers and dynamite sticks, thousands of peasants and miners filled the streets of La Paz, the highest city in the continent, and proclaimed America's first soviet. Joined by ELN representatives, students and city workers, they quickly elected Lechín their president. Then, ignoring his more moderate views, they selected 221 delegates who, occupying the old legislative palace only a few steps from the presidential house in central Plaza Murillo, promptly voted to establish diplomatic relations with Chile and Cuba, to cancel all concessions to foreign companies, to expel all US military and intelligence personnel, to develop the country's infrastructure, and to make all salaries equitable. The popular assembly did not depose Torres. It ordered him to proceed with its decisions. But it unanimously voted to stage a national general strike unless he proceeded at reasonable speed. "The people have not yet seized power," asid one ELN representative who fought with Che. "But the march has begun."

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THIS MARCH ON BOLIVIA may be curtailed by another coup (which could very well lead to civil war) or Brazilian intervention. But in that case, the ensuing war could well become continental, for in Peru, Argentina and Chile, it is not just ideology which makes both people and governments uneasy with Brazil's imperious growth, but national traditions as well. Right now Argentina's General President Alejandro Lanusse is personally much more like a Brazilian gorilla than a Chilean socialist. But as an Argentine nationalist he fears Brazil, not Chile. He has seen his economy crumble while Brazil's has boomed, and his home-grown guerrillas mushroom while Brazil's have been dispersed. He feels abandoned by the US, suspicious of his military, and threatened by his people. His situation is desperate.

The difference, of course, is that Argentina, unlike Brazil, is a highly politicized country, and that politicization dates back to the late '40s and early '50s and to the era of Juan Domingo Peron. For, while Western liberal historians delight in demeaning him as a blustering fascistoid *caudillo*, it was Peron who organized the tough, well-run unions which have since stopped all Argentine generals from turning their country into a Brazil. No matter how corrupt individual unions or leaders of confederations (CGT) may be, ultimately it is still the unions which bring down the government. And the unions are Peronist. What they haven't been able to do yet is put in the government of their choice, and now even that is changing.

Back in the early '60s, Che Guevara understood that, without the help of the Peronist masses, revolution in Argentina would be impossible. Yet he told his friend Jorge Massetti, an Argentine journalist who had founded Cuba's *Prensa Latina* and then wanted to start his own country's liberation struggle, to ignore the cities and set up a guerrilla force in the backlands of Salta province. Inevitably, Massetti's forces were wiped out before they could assault a single government outpost—and before a single city-based union could read their manifesto. Even so, when Che went into Bolivia, he expected his Argentine admirers either to join him or launch support actions at home. Yet again nothing happened, for it is simply not in the Argentine countryside that the Argentine revolution is to be waged. It is in greater Buenos Aires, whose population numbers almost 7 million, in Córdova and Rosario, and the various other cities which together house over two-thirds of the country's 24 million people. And it is precisely in those cities that it has in fact started—by left-wing Peronists. There are five such groups now in full operation, blowing up US businesses and pipelines, kidnapping officials, robbing banks and occasionally seizing adjacent towns. The biggest and best organized is the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) headed by a mixed bag of Peronists, Trotskyists and dissident communists, who manage to work smoothly together. In both May 1968 and 1969, it was the ERP which seized control of the spontaneous rebellions in Córdova. Since then, the ERP has silently infiltrated the ranks of the various auto unions (Fiat, Kaiser, Ford), and the labor federation is so pro-ERP that two of its top leaders, Ray Mundo Ungaro and Augustine Tosco, have to be kept permanently in jail by the worried military.

What worries them even more is that the ERP is making solid inroads in the military itself. While I was there in June, an ERP commando stopped a truckload of soldiers, took aside the lieutenant, read the verdict of a "people's court" which found the officer guilty of betraying the ERP and, while the other soldiers watched passively, executed the lieutenant by firing squad. "No," an ERP spokesman told me, "It is not because Lenin said we need the army on our side that we are trying to spread our organization within the military. It is because we are Argentine. Here our reality is the union and the army. We work within our reality. When a majority of the workers and a good number of soldiers are with us, we will seize power."

A few days later, a group of ERP soldiers descended upon the Córdova Hotel where a bunch of journalists, myself among them, were staying. We were led blindfolded into various cars, driven for about half an hour, taken up some steps, along what felt like a passageway, down more steps and into a large room. Our blindfolds were removed. The room had been set up as a press conference. After we sat down, a woman and two men, their heads shielded by black hoods, came in. The woman read a "declaration of war" against the dictatorship of Lanusse, signed by the Workers Revolutionary Party (Trotskyist) of which "the ERP is the armed wing." After the question-and-answer period, we were led back the same way and dropped off in different parts of the city. The police found out about it only when one of the journalists' reports was published in Chile. "No wonder that the plotting colonels check with the ERP first," one Peronist leader reacted. "Today the guerrillas are a real force in Argentina and Lanusse knows it. That's why he talks of elections, and even of making deals with Peron for his return from Madrid exile."

This is also why Lanusse is trying to make deals with Chile's socialist president, Salvador Allende. In June. Argentina and Chile reconciled some differences, and this summer the two presidents will meet to discuss other mutual problems. An *entente* is important to Allende for many reasons. First, it would offset right-wing agitation at home and military uneasiness over recent terrorist activities. The terrorists, members of the People's Workers Vanguard (VOP), were all once part of the revolutionary left movement (MIR) which, prior to last year's electoral victory by the Allende Popular Front, openly advocated armed struggle. Today the MIR works closely with Allende, and two of his closest advisors, Carlos Jorquera, his press secretary, and Augusto Olivarez, head of the national television, are MIR leaders. Allende and the United Front claim that the VOP was infiltrated by CIA agents, and that their violence, which included the assassination of Chile's former vice president, a Christian Democrat, was fomented as a provocation to force a military coup. So far, however, there has only been circumstantial evidence to back up this charge, but Allende is convinced that there will be more such provocation and hence feels he needs to allay the fears of the military in all ways possible.

Another reason is that Allende is worried about a Brazilian move into Bolivia which Chile could counter only with support from Argentina and Peru. So Allende will also have talks with Peru's leader, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, in the near future. And finally, Allende wants to show that, for all his avowed Marxism, he is still a firm national-

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ist, that he has Chile's national interests—not just abstract ideology—at heart. He argues that it is to Chile's advantage to have good relations and direct airline contact) with Argentina as well as Cuba.

Right now the Chilean economy looks sound. The government has raised wages 60 percent, prices 15 percent, so everyone is buying. It has signed new copper sales agreements with China and Russia, gotten promises of factories from Yugoslavia, Hungary and Rumania and, on July 12, became owner of the US-Chilean Company. But soon the stocks will be depleted. Local industry is not operating at capacity, as most entreprenuers are still taking a wait-and-see attitude. Committed to working within the constitutional framework, Allende must pay off the nationalization and has only the very mild agrarian reform program of the previous Christian Democratic government to use to deal with the horrendous conditions in the countryside. Brilliant and suave, Allende remains optimistic. "This country's tradition is primarily constitutional," he recently told me. "We shall build socialism here, you'll see, but we shall build it within our tradition, within our constitutional tradition."

THE GENERALS WHO RUN PERU'S revolution operate within no such tradition, with the result that they are able to transform the country as I never thought possible—especially for professional military men. Their agrarian reform, now only two years old, is far reaching and effective: already about half of Peru's one and a half million landless peasant families have been given land in large, government-supervised cooperatives. Only the poorest of the former owners have been paid for their expropriation. The rest will be given bonds redeemable "when the country is firmly solvent." Many foreign holdings have been nationalized, and the recent exploration deal with Occidental Petroleum is "a contract, not a concession." A new law reforming private urban companies is now fully operative; it compels each company to use 15 percent of its gross profits to buy stock for the workers so that within 15 years, at the latest, all companies will be owned equally by workers and management.

But most significant is the government's new law "decreeing" mobilization of the masses. "A revolution from above always fails," President Alvarado explained to me. "When we realized that was what we were doing, we decided to change it." The president himself announced the "change" late in June, not in the palace, but surrounded by tanks at the headquarters of the Armored Division, Peru's most powerful unit. The message was clearly understood by all Peruvians. "We, the military, commit our total strength to this new goal." Indeed, Alvarado said just that: "The revolution can be completed only when it is of the people and by the people. When that happens, we will retire. Until then, we will allow no one, no force inside or outside our country, to interfere with the mobilization of the masses. If it means war, then so be it. But let this be clear: the people will not lose."

How can it be, I asked, that the very same military which fought and defeated the guerrillas are now proclaiming its program? It was General Jorge Fernandez Maldonado, Minister of Mines and Energy, who answered me: "In 1963, when the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, headed by Luis de la Puente and the army of national liberation, commanded by Hector Bejar, launched a guerrilla war, we were all colonels. I was up north with a brigade. Then, General Alvarado, then also a colonel, was put in charge of intelligence, and I was his second. Like all military men—this is a tradition in our country—we viewed ourselves as the ultimate arbitrators in the country's politics. Politicians were always corrupt, and periodically, when things got too far out of hand, the military was called upon, or if you prefer, saw itself as called upon, to clear things up. For the first time, but still within the tradition, we were called upon to fight. We fought well, and so did the guerrillas. They were very brave and, as we captured their material and read it, we began to understand that they too, like us, were Peruvian patriots. They told us that the people were miserable in Peru, and we found out that it was true. Still, we had a job to do, and we did it. We killed Luis de la Puente and caught Bejar and jailed him. But we began to study seriously. We understood that something had to be done once and for all. Gradually we consolidated our strength, and finally in 1968, having cleaned house, we cleaned up the corruption and jailed the worst offenders. [Even former President Prado's son is in jail now as a common criminal.] We began to do something about the terrible conditions our country was in—completely dependent on foreign companies and milked dry by a callous oligarchy. With each step we understood the next. Then, last January, we understood that we had to get the people to join, and eventually to lead, the revolution. That had been Hector Bejar's program, but he was in jail, so we freed all the prisoners with full honors, and I offered my hand to Bejar."

Not all the prisoners accepted the military's hand. Ricardo Gadea of the MIR, and Hugo Blanco, once head of the Peasant's Union of Convención province, do not think the government is doing enough. At a press conference in Lima a few weeks ago, they said they would return to the mountains to organize again—their press conference was carried on national television.

But Bejar feels differently. "I'm a Marxist," he told me, "and these generals are not, at least not ideologically. They have understood pragmatically that a revolution cannot be half-way. They're going to go all the way. Now they're setting up organizations at the lowest level, to be run by workers and with newspaper, radio, and eventually even television facilities. We're going to have cadre schools run by workers, not military. The military is going to give us their trucks, their materials, but the mobilization of the masses is going to be done by the masses. If it works, we will have a true people's democracy."

"You keep saying 'we': what are you doing now?" I asked.

"Oh, didn't you know? When the generals brought us out of jail, they not only offered us their hands. We were asked to join them, to work in and for the revolution. Me? Well, I've been put in charge of this mobilization of the masses."

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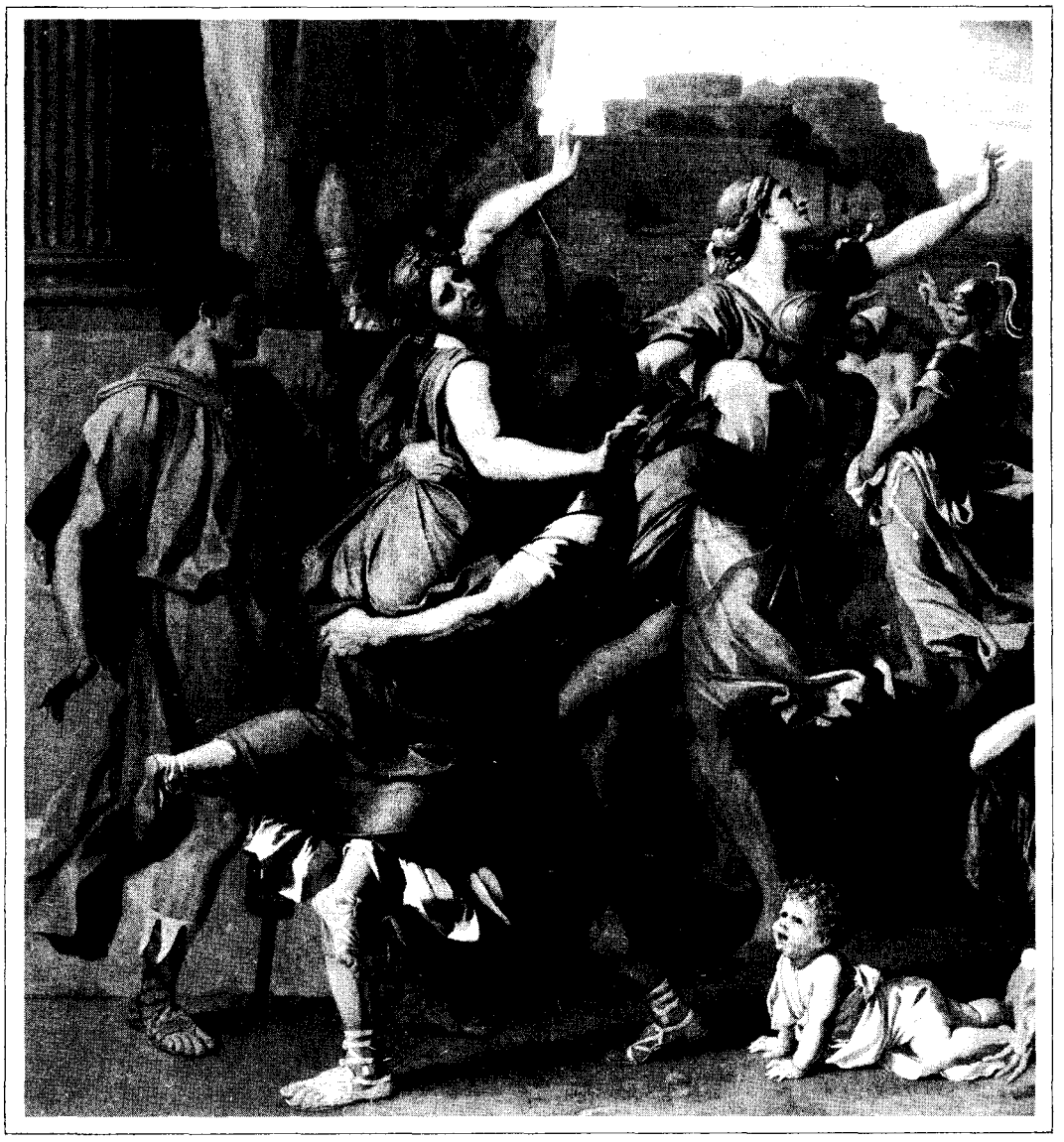

Rape: The All-American Crime

According to estimates by independent criminologists, rape is the most frequently committed violent crime in America today.

I HAVE NEVER BEEN FREE OF THE FEAR OF RAPE. From a very early age I, like most women, have thought of rape as part of my natural environment—something to be feared and prayed against like fire or lightning. I never asked why men raped; I simply thought it one of the many mysteries of human nature.

I was, however, curious enough about the violent side of humanity to read every crime magazine I was able to ferret away from my grandfather. Each issue featured at least one "sex crime," with pictures of a victim, usually in a pearl necklace, and of the ditch or the orchard where her body was found. I was never certain why the victims were always women, nor what the motives of the murderer were, but I did guess that the world was not a safe place for women. I observed that my grandmother was meticulous about locks, and quick to draw the shades before anyone removed so much as a shoe. I sensed that danger lurked outside.

At the age of eight, my suspicions were confirmed. My grandmother took me to the back of the house where the men wouldn't hear, and told me that strange men wanted to do harm to little girls. I learned not to walk on dark streets, not to talk to strangers, or get into strange cars, to lock doors, and to be modest. She never explained why a man would want to harm a little girl, and I never asked.

If I thought for a while that my grandmother's fears were imaginary, the illusion was brief. That year, on the way home from school, a schoolmate a few years older than I tried to rape me. Later, in an obscure aisle of the local

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library (while I was reading *Freddy the Pig*) I turned to discover a man exposing himself. Then, the friendly man around the corner was arrested for child molesting.

My initiation to sexuality was typical. Every woman has similar stories to tell—the first man who attacked her may have been a neighbor, a family friend, an uncle, her doctor, or perhaps her own father. And women who grow up in New York City always have tales about the subway.

But though rape and the fear of rape are a daily part of every woman's consciousness, the subject is so rarely discussed by that unofficial staff of male intellectuals (who write the books which study seemingly every other form of male activity) that one begins to suspect a conspiracy of silence. And indeed, the obscurity of rape in print exists in marked contrast to the frequency of rape in reality, for *forcible rape is the most frequently committed violent crime in America today*. The Federal Bureau of Investigation classes three crimes as violent: murder, aggravated assault and forcible rape. In 1968, 31,060 rapes were *reported*. According to the FBI and independent criminologists, however, to approach accuracy this figure must be multiplied by at least a factor of ten to compensate for the fact that most rapes are not reported; when these compensatory mathematics are used, there are more rapes committed than aggravated assaults and homicides.

When I asked Berkeley, California's Police Inspector in charge of rape investigation if he knew why men rape women, he replied that he had not spoken with "these people and delved into what really makes them tick, because that really isn't my job. . . ." However, when I asked him how a woman might prevent being raped, he was not so reticent, "I wouldn't advise any female to go walking around alone at night . . . and she should lock her car at all times." The Inspector illustrated his warning with a grisly story about a man who lay in wait for women in the back seats of their cars, while they were shopping in a local supermarket. This man eventually murdered one of his rape victims. "Always lock your car," the Inspector repeated, and then added, without a hint of irony, "Of course, you don't have to be paranoid about this type of thing."

THE INSPECTOR WONDERED WHY I WANTED to write about rape. Like most men he did not understand the urgency of the topic, for, after all, men are not raped. But like most women I had spent considerable time speculating on the true nature of the rapist. When I was very young, my image of the "sexual offender" was a nightmarish amalgamation of the bogey man and Captain Hook: he wore a black cape, and he cackled. As I matured, so did my image of the rapist. Born into the psychoanalytic age, I tried to "understand" the rapist. Rape, I came to believe, was only one of many unfortunate evils produced by sexual repression. Reasoning by tautology, I concluded that any man who would rape a woman must be out of his mind.

Yet, though the theory that rapists are insane is a popular one, this belief has no basis in fact. According to Professor Menachem Amir's study of 646 rape cases in Philadelphia, *Patterns in Forcible Rape*, men who rape are not abnormal. Amir writes, "Studies indicate that sex offenders do not constitute a unique or psychopathological type; nor are they as a group invariably more disturbed than the control groups to which they are compared." Alan Taylor, a parole officer who has worked with rapists in the prison facilities at San Luis Obispo, California, stated the question in plainer language, "Those men were the most normal men there. They had a lot of hang-ups, but they were the same hang-ups as men walking out on the street."

Another canon in the apologetics of rape is that, if it were not for learned social controls, all men would rape. Rape is held to be natural behavior, and not to rape must be learned. But in truth rape is not universal to the human species. Moreover, studies of rape in our culture reveal that, far from being impulsive behavior, most rape is planned. Professor Amir's study reveals that in cases of group rape (the "gangbang" of masculine slang) 90 percent of the rapes were planned; in pair rapes, 83 percent of the rapes were planned; and in single rapes, 58 percent were planned. These figures should significantly discredit the image of the rapist as a man who is suddenly overcome by sexual needs society does not allow him to fulfill.

Far from the social control of rape being learned, comparisons with other cultures lead one to suspect that, in our society, it is rape itself that is learned. (The fact that rape is against the law should not be considered proof that rape is not in fact encouraged as part of our culture.)

This culture's concept of rape as an illegal, but still understandable, form of behavior is not a universal one. In her study *Sex and Temperament*, Margaret Mead describes a society that does not share our views. The Arapesh do not ". . . have any conception of the male nature that might make rape understandable to them." Indeed our interpretation of rape is a product of our conception of the nature of male sexuality. A common retort to the question, why don't women rape men, is the myth that men have greater sexual needs, that their sexuality is more urgent than women's. And it is the nature of human beings to want to live up to what is expected of them.

And this same culture which expects aggression from the male expects passivity from the female. Conveniently, the companion myth about the nature of female sexuality is that all women secretly want to be raped. Lurking beneath her modest female exterior is a subconscious desire to be ravished. The following description of a stag movie, written by Brenda Starr in Los Angeles' underground paper, *Everywoman*, typifies this male fantasy. The movie "showed a woman in her underclothes reading on her bed. She is interrupted by a rapist with a knife. He immediately wins her over with his charm and they get busy sucking and fucking." An advertisement in the *Berkeley Barb* reads, "Now as all women know from their daydreams, rape has a lot of advantages. Best of all it's so simple. No preparation necessary, no planning ahead of time, no wondering if you should or shouldn't; just whang! bang!" Thanks to Masters and Johnson even the scientific canon recognizes that for the female, "whang! bang!" can scarcely be described as pleasurable.

Still, the male psyche persists in believing that, protestations and struggles to the contrary, deep inside her mysterious feminine soul, the female victim has wished for her own fate. A young woman who was raped by the husband of a

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friend said that days after the incident the man returned to her home, pounded on the door and screamed to her, "Jane, Jane. You loved it. You know you loved it."

The theory that women like being raped extends itself by deduction into the proposition that most or much of rape is provoked by the victim. But this too is only myth. Though provocation, considered a mitigating factor in a court of law, may consist of only "a gesture," according to the Federal Commission on Crimes of Violence, only 4 percent of reported rapes involved any precipitative behavior by the woman.

The notion that rape is enjoyed by the victim is also convenient for the man who, though he would not commit forcible rape, enjoys the idea of its existence, as if rape confirms that enormous sexual potency which he secretly knows to be his own. It is for the pleasure of the armchair rapist that detailed accounts of violent rapes exist in the media. Indeed, many men appear to take sexual pleasure from nearly all forms of violence. Whatever the motivation, male sexuality and violence in our culture seem to be inseparable. James Bond alternately whips out his revolver and his cock, and though there is no known connection between the skills of gun-fighting and love-making, pacifism seems suspiciously effeminate.

In a recent fictional treatment of the Manson case, Frank Conroy writes of his vicarious titillation when describing the murders to his wife:

> "Every single person there was killed." She didn't move.
>
> "It sounds like there was torture," I said. As the words left my mouth I knew there was no need to say them to frighten her into believing that she needed me for protection."

The pleasure he feels as his wife's protector is inextricably mixed with pleasure in the violence itself. Conroy writes, "I was excited by the killings, as one is excited by catas-

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1946

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trophe on a grand scale, as one is alert to pre-echoes of unknown changes, hints of unrevealed secrets, rumblings of chaos. . . ."

THE ATTRACTION OF THE MALE IN OUR CULTURE to violence and death is a tradition Manson and his admirers are carrying on with tireless avidity (even presuming Manson's innocence, he dreams of the purification of fire and destruction). It was Malraux in his *Anti-Memoirs* who said that, for the male, facing death was *the* illuminating experience analogous to childbirth for the female. Certainly our culture does glorify war and shroud the agonies of the gun-fighter in veils of mystery.

And in the spectrum of male behavior, rape, the perfect combination of sex and violence, is the penultimate act. Erotic pleasure cannot be separated from culture, and in our culture male eroticism is wedded to power. Not only should a man be taller and stronger than a female in the perfect love-match, but he must also demonstrate his superior strength in gestures of dominance which are perceived as amorous. Though the law attempts to make a clear division between rape and sexual intercourse, in fact the courts find it difficult to distinguish between a case where the decision to copulate was mutual and one where a man forced himself upon his partner.

The scenario is even further complicated by the expectation that, not only does a woman mean "yes" when she says "no," but that a really decent woman ought to begin by saying "no," and then be led down the primrose path to acquiescence. Ovid, the author of Western Civilization's most celebrated sex-manual, makes this expectation perfectly clear:

> . . . and when I beg you to say "yes," say "no." Then let me lie outside your bolted door. . . . So Love grows strong. . . .

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That the basic elements of rape are involved in all heterosexual relationships may explain why men often identify with the offender in this crime. But to regard the rapist as the victim, a man driven by his inherent sexual needs to take what will not be given him, reveals a basic ignorance of sexual politics. For in our culture heterosexual love finds an erotic expression through male dominance and female submission. A man who derives pleasure from raping a woman clearly must enjoy force and dominance as much or more than the simple pleasures of the flesh. Coitus cannot be experienced in isolation. The weather, the state of the nation, the level of sugar in the blood—all will affect a man's ability to achieve orgasm. If a man can achieve sexual pleasure after terrorizing and humiliating the object of his passion, and in fact while inflicting pain upon her, one must assume he derives pleasure directly from terrorizing, humiliating and harming a woman. According to Amir's study of forcible rape, on a statistical average the man who has been convicted of rape was found to have a normal sexual personality, tending to be different from the normal, well-adjusted male only in having a greater tendency to express violence and rage.

And if the professional rapist is to be separated from the average dominant heterosexual, it may be mainly a quantitative difference. For the existence of rape as an index to masculinity is not entirely metaphorical. Though this measure of masculinity seems to be more publicly exhibited among "bad boys" or aging bikers who practice sexual initiation through group rape, in fact, "good boys" engage in the same rites to prove their manhood. In Stockton, a small town in California which epitomizes silent-majority America, a bachelor party was given last summer for a young man about to be married. A woman was hired to dance "topless" for the amusement of the guests. At the high point of the evening the bridegroom-to-be dragged the woman into a bedroom. No move was made by any of his companions to stop what was clearly going to be an attempted rape. Far from it. As the woman described, "I tried to keep him away—told him of my Herpes Genitalis, et cetera, but he couldn't face the guys if he didn't screw me." After the bridegroom had finished raping the woman and returned with her to the party, far from chastizing him, his friends heckled the woman and covered her with wine.

It was fortunate for the dancer that the bridegroom's friends did not follow him into the bedroom for, though one might suppose that in group rape, since the victim is outnumbered, less force would be inflicted on her, in fact, Amir's studies indicate, "the most excessive degrees of violence occurred in group rape." Far from discouraging violence, the presence of other men may in fact encourage sadism, and even cause the behavior. In an unpublished study of group rape by Gilbert Geis and Duncan Chappell, the authors refer to a study by W. H. Blanchard which relates, "The leader of the male group . . . apparently precipitated and maintained the activity, despite misgivings, because of a need to fulfill the role that the other two men had assigned to him. 'I was scared when it began to happen,' he says. 'I wanted to leave but I didn't want to say it to the other guys—you know—that I was scared.' "

Thus it becomes clear that not only does our culture teach men the rudiments of rape, but society, or more specifically other men, encourage the practice of it.

II

Every man I meet wants to protect me. Can't figure out what from.

—Mae West

IF A MALE SOCIETY REWARDS AGGRESSIVE, domineering sexual behavior, it contains within itself a sexual schizophrenia. For the masculine man is also expected to prove his mettle as a protector of women. To the naive eye, this dichotomy implies that men fall into one of two categories: those who rape and those who protect. In fact, life does not prove so simple. In a study euphemistically entitled "Sex Aggression by College Men," it was discovered that men who believe in a double standard of morality for men and women, who in fact believe most fervently in the ultimate value of virginity, are more liable to commit "this aggresive variety of sexual exploitation."

(At this point in our narrative it should come as no surprise that Sir Thomas Malory, creator of that classic tale of chivalry, *The Knights of the Round Table,* was himself arrested and found guilty for repeated incidents of rape.)

In the system of chivalry, men protect women against men. This is not unlike the protection relationship which the mafia established with small businesses in the early part of this century. Indeed, chivalry is an age-old protection racket which depends for its existence on rape.

According to the male mythology which defines and perpetuates rape, it is an animal instinct inherent in the male. The story goes that sometime in our pre-historical past, the male, more hirsute and burly than today's counterparts, roamed about an uncivilized landscape until he found a desirable female. (Oddly enough, this female is *not* pictured as more muscular than the modern woman.) Her mate does not bother with courtship. He simply grabs her by the hair and drags her to the closest cave. Presumably, one of the major advantages of modern civilization for the female has been the civilizing of the male. We call it chivalry.

But women do not get chivalry for free. According to the logic of sexual politics, we too have to civilize our behavior. (Enter chastity. Enter virginity. Enter monogamy.) For the female, civilized behavior means chastity before marriage and faithfulness within it. Chivalrous behavior in the male is supposed to protect that chastity from involuntary defilement. The fly in the ointment of this otherwise peaceful system is the fallen woman. She does not behave. And therefore she does not deserve protection. Or, to use another argument, a major tenet of the same value system: what has once been defiled cannot again be violated. One begins to suspect that it is the behavior of the fallen woman, and not that of the male, that civilization aims to control.

The assumption that a woman who does not respect the double standard deserves whatever she gets (or at the very least "asks for it") operates in the courts today. While in

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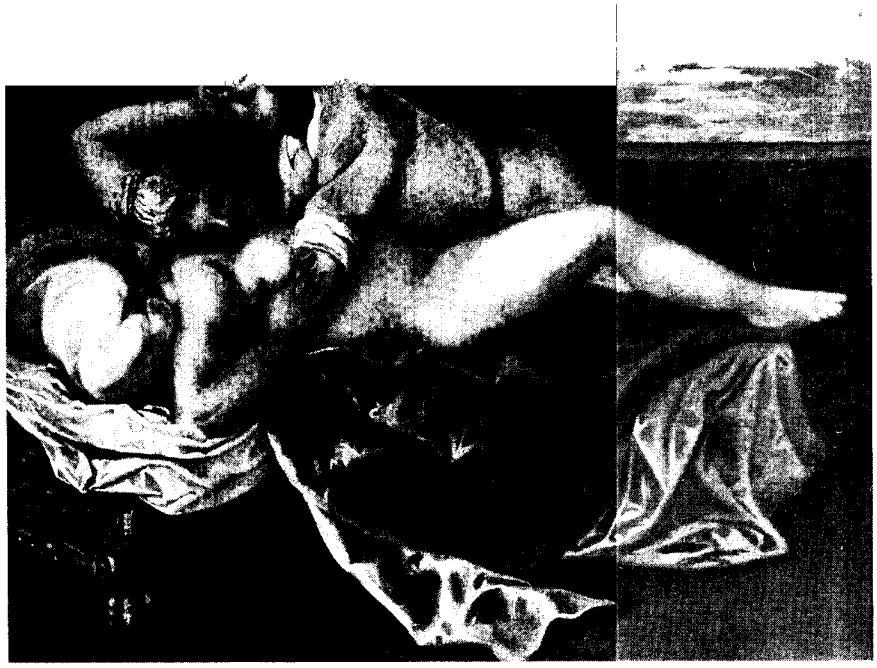
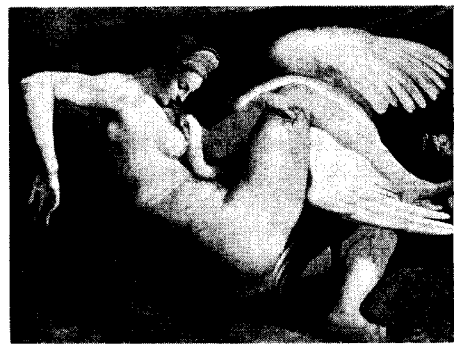


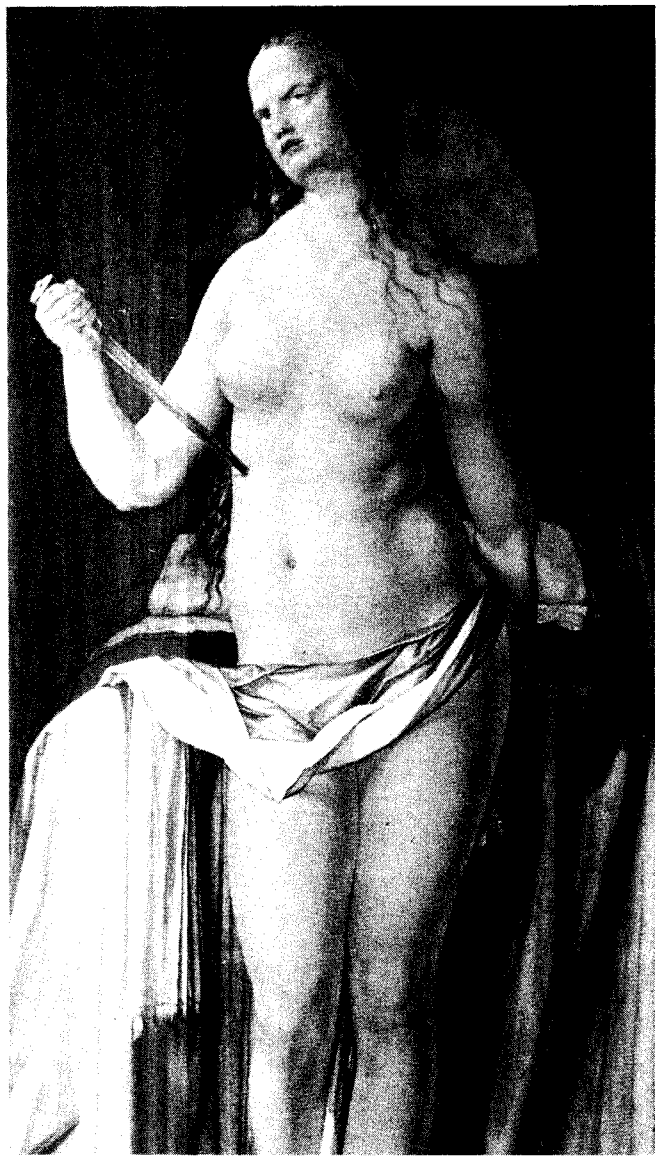


some states a man's previous rape convictions are not considered admissible evidence, the sexual reputation of the rape victim is considered a crucial element of the facts upon which the court must decide innocence or guilt.

The court's respect for the double standard manifested itself particularly clearly in the case of the People v. Jerry Plotkin. Mr. Plotkin, a 36-year-old jeweler, was tried for rape last spring in a San Francisco Superior Court. According to the woman who brought the charges, Plotkin, along with three other men, forced her at gunpoint to enter a car one night in October 1970. She was taken to Mr. Plotkin's fashionable apartment where he and the three other men first raped her and then, in the delicate language of the *S.F. Chronicle,* "subjected her to perverted sex acts." She was, she said, set free in the morning with the warning that she would be killed if she spoke to anyone about the event. She did report the incident to the police who then searched Plotkin's apartment and discovered a long list of names of women. Her name was on the list and had been crossed out.

In addition to the woman's account of her abduction and rape, the prosecution submitted four of Plotkin's address books containing the names of hundreds of women. Plotkin claimed he did not know all of the women since some of the names had been given to him by friends and he had not yet called on them. Several women, however, did testify in court that Plotkin had, to cite the *Chronicle,* "lured them up to his apartment under one pretext or another, and forced his sexual attentions on them."

Plotkin's defense rested on two premises. First, through his own testimony Plotkin established a reputation for himself as a sexual libertine who frequently picked up girls in bars and took them to his house where sexual relations often took place. He was the Playboy. He claimed that the accusation of rape, therefore, was false—this incident had simply been one of many casual sexual relationships, the victim one of many playmates. The second premise of the defense was that his accuser was also a sexual libertine. However, the picture created of the young woman (fully



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13 years younger than Plotkin) was not akin to the lighthearted, gay-bachelor image projected by the defendant. On the contrary, the day after the defense cross-examined the woman, the *Chronicle* printed a story headlined, "Grueling Day For Rape Case Victim." (A leaflet passed out by women in front of the courtroom was more succinct, "rape was committed by four men in a private apartment in October; on Thursday, it was done by a judge and a lawyer in a public courtroom.")

Through skillful questioning fraught with innuendo, Plotkin's defense attorney James Martin MacInnis portrayed the young woman as a licentious opportunist and unfit mother. MacInnis began by asking the young woman (then employed as a secretary) whether or not it was true that she was "familiar with liquor" and had worked as a "cocktail waitress." The young woman replied (the *Chronicle* wrote "admitted") that she had worked once or twice as a cocktail waitress. The attorney then asked if she had worked as a secretary in the financial district but had "left that employment after it was discovered that you had sexual intercourse on a couch in the office." The woman replied, "That is a lie. I left because I didn't like working in a one-girl office. It was too lonely." Then the defense asked if, while working as an attendant at a health club, "you were accused of having a sexual affair with a man?" Again the woman denied the story, "I was never accused of that."

Plotkin's attorney then sought to establish that his client's accuser was living with a married man. She responded that the man was separated from his wife. Finally he told the court that she had "spent the night" with another man who lived in the same building.

At this point in the testimony the woman asked Plotkin's defense attorney, "Am I on trial? . . . It is embarrassing and personal to admit these things to all these people. . . . I did not commit a crime. I am a human being." The lawyer, true to the chivalry of his class, apologized and immediately resumed questioning her, turning his attention to her children. (She is divorced, and the children at the time of the trial were in a foster home.) "Isn't it true that your two children have a sex game in which one gets on top of another and they—" "That is a lie!" the young woman interrupted him. She ended her testimony by explaining "They are wonderful children. They are not perverted."

The jury, divided in favor of acquittal ten to two, asked the court stenographer to read the woman's testimony back to them. After this reading, the Superior Court acquitted the defendant of both the charges of rape and kidnapping.

ACCORDING TO THE DOUBLE STANDARD a woman who has had sexual intercourse out of wedlock cannot be raped. Rape is not only a crime of aggression against the body; it is a transgression against chastity as defined by men. When a woman is forced into a sexual relationship, she has, according to the male ethos, been violated. But she is also defiled if she does not behave according to the double standard, by maintaining her chastity, or confining her sexual activities to a monogamous relationship.

One should not assume, however, that a woman can avoid the possibility of rape simply by behaving. Though myth would have it that mainly "bad girls" are raped, this theory has no basis in fact. Available statistics would lead one to believe that a safer course is promiscuity. In a study of rape done in the District of Columbia, it was found that 82 percent of the rape victims had a "good reputation." Even the Police Inspector's advice to stay off the streets is rather useless, for almost half of reported rapes occur in the home of the victim and are committed by a man she has never before seen. Like indiscriminate terrorism, rape can happen to any woman, and few women are ever without this knowledge.

But the courts and the police, both dominated by white males, continue to suspect the rape victim, *sui generis,* of provoking or asking for her own assault. According to Amir's study, the police tend to believe that a woman without a good reputation cannot be raped. The rape victim is usually submitted to countless questions about her own sexual mores and behavior by the police investigator. This preoccupation is partially justified by the legal requirements for prosecution in a rape case. The rape victim must have been penetrated, and she must have made it clear to her assailant that she did not want penetration (unless of course she is unconscious). A refusal to accompany a man to some isolated place to allow him to touch her does not in the eyes of the court, constitute rape. She must have said "no" at the crucial genital moment. And the rape victim, to qualify as such, must also have put up a physical struggle—unless she can prove that to do so would have been to endanger her life.

BUT THE ZEALOUS INTEREST the police frequently exhibit in the physical details of a rape case is only partially explained by the requirements of the court. A woman who was raped in Berkeley was asked to tell the story of her rape four different times "right out in the street," while her assailant was escaping. She was then required to submit to a pelvic examination to prove that penetration had taken place. Later, she was taken to the police station where she was asked the same questions again: "Were you forced?" "Did he penetrate?" "Are you sure your life was in danger and you had no other choice?" This woman had been pulled off the street by a man who held a 10-inch knife at her throat and forcibly raped her. She was raped at midnight and was not able to return to her home until five in the morning. Police contacted her twice again in the next week, once by telephone at two in the morning and once at four in the morning. In her words, "The rape was probably the least traumatic incident of the whole evening. If I'm ever raped again, . . . I wouldn't report it to the police because of all the degradation. . . ."

If white women are subjected to unnecessary and often hostile questioning after having been raped, third world women are often not believed at all. According to the white male ethos (which is not only sexist but racist), third world women are defined from birth as "impure." Thus the white male is provided with a pool of women who are fair game for sexual imperialism. Third world women frequently do not report rape and for good reason. When blues singer Billie Holliday was 10 years old, she was taken off to a local house by a neighbor and raped. Her mother brought the

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police to rescue her, and she was taken to the local police station crying and bleeding:

> When we got there, instead of treating me and Mom like somebody who called the cops for help, they treated me like I'd killed somebody. . . . I guess they had me figured for having enticed this old goat into the whorehouse. . . . All I know for sure is they threw me into a cell . . . a fat white matron . . . saw I was still bleeding, she felt sorry for me and gave me a couple glasses of milk. But nobody else did anything for me except give me filthy looks and snicker to themselves.
>
> After a couple of days in a cell they dragged me into a court. Mr. Dick got sentenced to five years. They sentenced me to a Catholic institution.

Clearly the white man's chivalry is aimed only to protect the chastity of "his" women.

As a final irony, that same system of sexual values from which chivalry is derived has also provided womankind with an unwritten code of behavior, called femininity, which makes a feminine woman the perfect victim of sexual aggression. If being chaste does not ward off the possibility of assault, being feminine certainly increases the chances that it will succeed. To be submissive is to defer to masculine strength; is to lack muscular development or any interest in defending oneself; is to let doors be opened, to have one's arm held when crossing the street. To be feminine is to wear shoes which make it difficult to run; skirts which inhibit one's stride; underclothes which inhibit the circulation. Is it not an intriguing observation that those very clothes which are thought to be flattering to the female and attractive to the male are those which make it impossible for a woman to defend herself against aggression?

Each girl as she grows into womanhood is taught fear. Fear is the form in which the female internalizes both chivalry and the double standard. Since, biologically speaking, women in fact have the same if not greater potential for sexual expression as do men, the woman who is taught that she must behave differently from a man must also learn to distrust her own carnality. She must deny her own feelings and learn not to act from them. She fears herself. This is the essence of passivity, and of course, a woman's passivity is not simply sexual but functions to cripple her from self-expression in every area of her life.

Passivity itself prevents a woman from ever considering her own potential for self-defense and forces her to look to men for protection. The woman is taught fear, but this time fear of the other; and yet her only relief from this fear is to seek out the other. Moreover, the passive woman is taught to regard herself as impotent, unable to act, unable even to perceive, in no way self-sufficient, and, finally, as the object and not the subject of human behavior. It is in this sense that a woman is deprived of the status of a human being. She is not free to be.

III

SINCE IBSEN'S NORA SLAMMED THE DOOR on her patriarchical husband, woman's attempt to be free has been more or less fashionable. In this 19th century portrait of a woman leaving her marriage, Nora tells her husband, "Our home has been nothing but a playroom. I have been your doll-wife just as at home I was papa's doll-child." And, at least on the stage, "The Doll's House" crumbled, leaving audiences with hope for the fate of the modern woman. And today, as in the past, womankind has not lacked examples of liberated women to emulate: Emma Goldman, Greta Garbo and Isadora Duncan all denounced marriage and the double standard, and believed their right to freedom included sexual independence; but still their example has not affected the lives of millions of women who continue to marry, divorce and remarry, living out their lives dependent on the status and economic power of men. Patriarchy still holds the average woman prisoner not because she lacks the courage of an Isadora Duncan, but because the material conditions of her life prevent her from being anything but an object.

In the *Elementary Structures of Kinship,* Claude Levi-Strauss gives to marriage this universal description, "It is always a system of exchange that we find at the origin of the rules of marriage." In this system of exchange, a woman is the "most precious possession." Levi-Strauss continues that the custom of including women as booty in the marketplace is still so general that "a whole volume would not be sufficient to enumerate instances of it." Levi-Strauss makes it clear that he does not exclude Western Civilization from his definition of "universal" and cites examples from modern wedding ceremonies. (The marriage ceremony is still one in which the husband and wife become one, and "that one is the husband.")

The legal proscription against rape reflects this possessory view of women. An article in the 1952–53 *Yale Law Journal* describes the legal rationale behind laws against rape: "In our society sexual taboos, often enacted into law, buttress a system of monogamy based upon the law of 'free bargaining' of the potential spouses. Within this process the woman's power to withhold or grant sexual access is an important bargaining weapon." Presumably then, laws against rape are intended to protect the right of a woman, not for physical self-determination, but for physical "bargaining." The article goes on to explain explicitly why the preservation of the bodies of women is important to men:

> *The consent standard in our society does more than protect a significant item of social currency for women; it fosters, and is in turn bolstered by, a masculine pride in the exclusive possession of a sexual object. The consent of a woman to sexual intercourse awards the man a privilege of bodily access, a personal "prize" whose value is enhanced by sole ownership. An additional reason for the man's condemnation of rape may be found in the threat to his status from a decrease in the "value" of his sexual possession which would result from forcible violation.*

The passage concludes by making clear whose interest the law is designed to protect. "The man responds to this undercutting of his status as *possessor* of the girl with hostility toward the rapist; no other restitution device is available. The law of rape provides an orderly outlet for his vengeance." Presumably the female victim in any case will have been sufficiently socialized so as not to consciously feel any strong need for vengeance. If she does feel this need, society does not speak to it.

The laws against rape exist to protect rights of the male

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as possessor of the female body, and not the right of the female over her own body. Even without this enlightening passage from the *Yale Law Review,* the laws themselves are clear: In no state can a man be accused of raping his wife. How can any man steal what already belongs to him? It is in the sense of rape as theft of another man's property that Kate Millett writes, "Traditionally rape has been viewed as an offense one male commits against another—a matter of abusing his woman." In raping another man's woman, a man may aggrandize his own manhood and concurrently reduce that of another man. Thus a man's honor is not subject directly to rape, but only indirectly, through "his" woman.

IF THE BASIC SOCIAL UNIT is the family, in which the woman is a possession of her husband, the superstructure of society is a male hierarchy, in which men dominate other men (or patriarchal families dominate other patriarchal families). And it is no small irony that, while the very social fabric of our male-dominated culture denies women equal access to political, economic and legal power, the literature, myth and humor of our culture depicts women not only as the power behind the throne, but the real source of the oppression of men. The religious version of this fairy tale blames Eve for both carnality and eating of the tree of knowledge, at the same time making her gullible to the obvious devices of a serpent. Adam, of course, is merely the trusting victim of love. Certainly this is a biased story. But no more biased than the one television audiences receive today from the latest slick comedians. Through a media which is owned by men, censored by a State dominated by men, all the evils of this social system which make a man's life unpleasant are blamed upon "the wife." The theory is: were it not for the female who waits and plots to "trap" the male into marriage, modern man would be able to achieve Olympian freedom. She is made the scapegoat for a system which is in fact run by men.

Nowhere is this more clear than in the white racist use of the concept of white womanhood. The white male's open rape of black women, coupled with his overweening concern for the chastity and protection of his wife and daughters, represents an extreme of sexist and racist hypocrisy. While on the one hand she was held up as the standard for purity and virtue, on the other the Southern white woman was never asked if she wanted to be on a pedestal, and in fact any deviance from the male-defined standards for white womanhood was treated severely. (It is a powerful commentary on American racism that the historical role of Blacks as slaves, and thus possessions without power, has robbed black women of legal and economic protection through marriage. Thus black women in Southern society and in the ghettoes of the North have long been easy game for white rapists.) The fear that black men would rape white women was, and is, classic paranoia. Quoting from Ann Breen's unpublished study of racism and sexism in the South *"The New South: White Man's Country,"* Frederick Douglass legitimately points out that, had the black man wished to rape white women, he had ample opportunity to do so during the civil war when white women, the wives, sisters, daughters and mothers of the rebels, were left in the care of Blacks. But yet not a single act of rape was committed during this time. The Ku Klux Klan, who tarred and feathered black men and lynched them in the honor of the purity of white womanhood, also applied tar and feathers to a Southern white woman accused of bigamy, which leads one to suspect that Southern white men were not so much outraged at the violation of the woman as a person, in the few instances where rape was actually committed by black men, but at the violation of his property rights." In the situation where a black man was found to be having sexual relations with a white woman, the white woman could exercise skin-privilege, and claim that she had been raped, in which case the black man was lynched. But if she did not claim rape, she herself was subject to lynching.

In constructing the myth of white womanhood so as to justify the lynching and oppression of black men and women, the white male has created a convenient symbol of his own power which has resulted in black hostility toward the white "bitch," accompanied by an unreasonable fear on the part of many white women of the black rapist. Moreover, it is not surprising that after being told for two centuries that he wants to rape white women, occasionally a black man does actually commit that act. But it is crucial to note that the frequency of this practice is outrageously exaggerated in the white mythos. Ninety percent of reported rape is intra- not inter-racial.

In *Soul on Ice,* Eldridge Cleaver has described the mixing of a rage against white power with the internalized sexism of a black man raping a white woman. "Somehow I arrived at the conclusion that, as a matter of principle, it was of paramount importance for me to have an antagonistic, ruthless attitude toward white women. . . . Rape was an insurrectionary act. It delighted me that I was defying and trampling upon the white man's law, upon his system of values and that I was defiling his women—and this point, I believe, was the most satisfying to me because I was very resentful over the historical fact of how the white man has used the black woman." Thus a black man uses white women to take out his rage against white men. But in fact, whenever a rape of a white woman by a black man does take place, it is again the white man who benefits. First, the act itself terrorizes the white woman and makes her more dependent on the white male for protection. Then, if the woman prosecutes her attacker, the white man is afforded legal opportunity to exercise overt racism. Of course, the knowledge of the rape helps to perpetuate two myths which are beneficial to white male rule—the bestiality of the black man and the desirability of white women. Finally, the white man surely benefits because he himself is not the object of attack—he has been allowed to stay in power.

Indeed, the existence of rape in any form is beneficial to the ruling class of white males. For rape is a kind of terrorism which severely limits the freedom of women and makes women dependent on men. Moreover, in the act of rape, the rage that one man may harbor toward another higher in the male hierarchy can be deflected toward a female scapegoat. For every man there is always someone lower on the social scale on whom he can take out his aggressions. And that is any woman alive.

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THIS OPPRESSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS women finds its institutionalization in the traditional family. For it is assumed that a man "wears the pants" in his family—he exercises the option of rule whenever he so chooses. Not that he makes all the decisions—clearly women make most of the important day-to-day decisions in a family. But when a conflict of interest arises, it is the man's interest which will prevail. His word, in itself, is more powerful. He lords it over his wife in the same way his boss lords it over him, so that the very process of exercising his power becomes as important an act as obtaining whatever it is his power can get for him. This notion of power is key to the male ego in this culture, for the two acceptable measures of masculinity are a man's power over women and his power over other men. A man may boast to his friends that "I have 20 men working for me." It is also aggrandizement of his ego if he has the financial power to clothe his wife in furs and jewels. And, if a man lacks the wherewithal to acquire such power, he can always express his rage through equally masculine activities—rape and theft. Since male society defines the female as a possession, it is not surprising that the felony most often committed together with rape is theft. As the following classic tale of rape points out, the elements of theft, violence and forced sexual relations merge into an indistinguishable whole.

The woman who told this story was acquainted with the man who tried to rape her. When the man learned that she was going to be staying alone for the weekend, he began early in the day a polite campaign to get her to go out with him. When she continued to refuse his request, his chivalrous mask dropped away:

"I had locked all the doors because I was afraid, and I don't know how he got in; it was probably through the screen door. When I woke up, he was shaking my leg. His eyes were red, and I knew he had been drinking or smoking. I thought I would try to talk my way out of it. He started by saying that he wanted to sleep with me, and then he got angrier and angrier, until he started to say, 'I want pussy,' 'I want pussy.' Then, I got scared and tried to push him away. That's when he started to force himself on me. It was awful. It was the most humiliating, terrible feeling. He was forcing my legs apart and ripping my clothes off. And it was painful. I did fight him—he was slightly drunk and I was able to keep him away. I had taken judo a few years back, but I was afraid to throw a chop for fear that he'd kill me. I could see he was getting more and more violent. I was thinking wildly of some way to get out of this alive, and then I said to him, 'Do you want money. I'll give you money.' We had money but I was also thinking that if I got to the back room I could telephone the police—as if the police would have even helped. It was a stupid thing to think of because obviously he would follow me. And he did. When he saw me pick up the phone, he tried to tie the cord around my neck. I screamed at him that I did have the money in another room, that I was going to call the police because I was scared, but that I would never tell anybody what happened. It would be an absolute secret. He said, okay, and I went to get the money. But when he got it, all of a sudden he got this crazy look in his eye and he said to me, 'Now I'm going to kill you.' Then I started saying my prayers. I knew there was nothing I could do. He started to hit me—I still wasn't sure if he wanted to rape me at this point—or just to kill me. He was hurting me, but hadn't yet gotten me into a strangle-hold because he was still drunk and off balance. Somehow we pushed into the kitchen where I kept looking at this big knife. But I didn't pick it up. Somehow, no matter how much I hated him at that moment, I still couldn't imagine putting the knife in his flesh, and then I was afraid he would grab it and stick it into me. Then he was hitting me again and somehow we pushed through the back door of the kitchen and onto the porch steps. We fell down the steps and that's when he started to strangle me. He was on top of me. He just went on and on until finally I lost consciousness. I did scream, though my screams sounded like whispers to me. But what happened was that a cab driver happened by and frightened him away. The cab driver revived me—I was out only a minute at the most. And then I ran across the street and I grabbed the woman who was our neighbor and screamed at her, 'Am I alive? Am I still alive?' "

* * *

RAPE IS AN ACT OF AGGRESSION in which the victim is denied her self-determination. It is an act of violence which, if not actually followed by beatings or murder, nevertheless always carries with it the threat of death. And finally, rape is a form of mass terrorism, for the victims of rape are chosen indiscriminately, but the propagandists for male supremacy broadcast that it is women who cause rape by being unchaste or in the wrong place at the wrong time—in essence, by behaving as though they were free.

The threat of rape is used to deny women employment. (In California, the Berkeley Public Library, until pushed by the Federal Employment Practices Commission, refused to hire female shelvers because of perverted men in the stacks.) The fear of rape keeps women off the streets at night. Keeps women at home. Keeps women passive and modest for fear that they be thought provocative.

It is part of human dignity to be able to defend oneself, and women are learning. Some women have learned karate; some to shoot guns. And yet we will not be free until the threat of rape and the atmosphere of violence is ended, and to end that the nature of male behavior must change.

But rape is not an isolated act that can be rooted out from patriarchy without ending patriarchy itself. The same men and power structure who victimize women are engaged in the act of raping Vietnam, raping Black people and the very earth we live upon. Rape is a classic act of domination where, in the words of Kate Millett, "the emotions of hatred, contempt, and the desire to break or violate personality," takes place. This breaking of the personality characterizes modern life itself. No simple reforms can eliminate rape. As the symbolic expression of the white male hierarchy, rape is the quintessential act of our civilization, one which, Valerie Solanis warns, is in danger of "humping itself to death."

Susan Griffin is a feminist and poet. She is currently at work on a trilogy of novellas examining the psychic life of women.

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The Mormon Empire

STEWART BURTON IS AN ACCOMPLISHED and trusted employee of the Central Intelligence Agency. As Chief of Station at Georgetown, British Guiana, in the mid-'60s, he helped make sure that Cheddi Jagan never got to power; and later, in Rio de Janeiro, he tried to help the Argentinian Secret Police stamp out revolutionary cells. It was thankless work. But Burton, like other of the Agency's most dedicated operatives in Latin America, is sustained by a faith that transcends the tawdry ethics of his profession. He is a Mormon.

It may seem strange for a religious body which began as a persecuted sect driven from one region to another, murdered and reviled, to wind up providing both the CIA and FBI with some of their best men. But for the Mormons there is no contradiction. By habit and training a conservative group, Mormons are tightly entwined with a religion which is stringently hierarchical, profit-oriented, racist, and never likely to embarrass the foreign interests of the U.S., or indeed any capitalist state.

Recent boycotts of sporting events with the Mormons' Brigham Young University by teams from other colleges has brought the Church's peculiar and archaic racial beliefs

by Frances Lang

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into public view. What is less known, but more important, is that the Mormons have built up their own extraordinary international society with an intricate maze of economic insitutions and political power leading back to the throne of the Church in Salt Lake City, Utah. There, within the tabernacles and temple building, aging Mormon Elders exercise the financial and spiritual wizardry that allows their powerful conglomerate to grow and prosper. With a daily income of better than $1 million, and extensive political and economic control, especially in the western United States. Mormonism has made the biblical injunction to be fruitful and multiply into a glamour stock.

With assets of over $2 billion and a membership of under three million, the Mormon Church is the richest per capita in the world. The Church's interests are extraordinarily widespread. It owns vast real estate (including the most valuable property in Salt Lake City), pineapple and sugar plantations, three mammoth ranches, 650 farms and 40 factories, and the village of Laie in Hawaii. It owns two insurance companies, a trucking company, a sugar beet enterprise, and a substantial interest in Utah's only bank holding company; and it has extensive control over the education and communications systems in large areas of the west and southwest. In addition, Mormons are disproportionately active in state and national politics. In recent years, Mormons have headed the Interior Department, the Federal Communications Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Treasury, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. And the Church's star is still on the rise.

NONE OF THIS WAS PREFIGURED in the inconspicuous beginnings of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints founded by Joseph Smith in 1830. For years Smith and his small band of converts were driven across the country, ridiculed for their polygamy and other peculiarities, and chased from one town to another by local citizens. Smith led the Mormons from New York to Ohio to Missouri and on to Illinois before being lynched by citizens at Carthage, Illinois, where he was accused of sending a band of thugs to break up a local anti-Mormon newspaper office. From there, the Mormons made their epic trek to the west, finally stopping in the valley of the great salt lake of Utah, where they settled, built a temple and launched their theocratic empire.

According to doctrine, Smith claimed in 1828 to have discovered near his home in upstate New York a set of golden plates engraved in Egyptian by the Israelite prophet Mormon. The plates related the history of Israelite tribes who had migrated to North America about 2000 B.C. and lived there until shortly after Christ's death. At that time, they were killed off by the Indians (who are seen as a quarrelsome faction of the Israelite tribes whose skin was turned dark as punishment for their misdeeds). Before the white Israelites were killed, Christ was resurrected in North America and visited them.

After finding the plates, Joseph Smith was visited by God, Christ, and three prophets who advised him to start his own Church. They said the true Church must have 12 apostles, the same priestly hierarchy as in Christ's day, practice baptism by immersion, and in other ways differ from 19th century religions. So Joseph dictated his own holy writ to a secretary—calling it the Book of Mormon and stipulating that the original flew back to heaven after he retold it—and organized his own Church around its teachings and his own revelations.

What distinguished Mormon doctrine from that of other Protestant churches is the fact that Joseph Smith is its prophet. Smith principally wanted a band of devoted followers to support him in his attempts to set up a religious community and other undertakings, and during his lifetime devotion to the Church meant loyalty to him. Today, absolute fealty is still the cornerstone of the religion, except that now loyalty to the faith of the Latter Day Saints means unquestioning service not of an individual but of a powerful institution.

THE CHURCH IS ORGANIZED IN hierarchical fashion, from the office of the First Presidency, down to the multiplicity of parishes (or "wards," as Mormons call them). Each organizational unit is a separate corporation with the power to accumulate a great deal of property on its own and, whatever property an individual corporation owns, it may "without authority or authorization from the members of said Church . . . grant, sell, convey, rent, mortgage, exchange or otherwise dispose of any or all of." These individual fiefdoms get quite extensive. The Corporation of the Presiding Bishopric, for example, owns 17 hospitals, 14 schools, a rug factory, a woolen mill, a cannery, a dairy, a clothing store, a coal company and over 4000 buildings. But ultimately the wealth of any one corporation accrues back to the central Church.

The principal lesson Mormon children learn is the value of obedience to the LDS Church, and Church leaders have elaborated a code of behavior governing every facet of the membership's political and social existence. For example, from the time Mormon children are eight years old, they are expected to pay church tithes of 10 percent of their annual income. One Church official said of the tithes, "You can't afford not to pay. There is no such thing. One hundred thousand is as much to a millionaire as $100 is to a widow. I wish our government's taxation program was on the same basis as the Lord's tithing program." In addition to the payment of tithes, Mormons contribute to about five separate Church funds.

Mormon boys start taking the priestly ordinances when they are 12. Only a priest can advance in the Mormon hierarchy, and priesthood confers otherworldly advantages as well as earthly honors. Mormons believe that after death humans will be physically resurrected in heaven and there propagate children indefinitely. Eventually, these heavenly Mormons (the husband must be a priesthood holder) will found a new planet with their children just as God established earth. Young men are interrogated about their living habits—smoking and imbibing spirits and stimulants is forbidden—before they may rise to the next priestly level. At about 18, they become Elders and go on a two-year mission to attract converts. This venture, like all Mormon enter-

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prises, is successful; last year, missionaries converted over 100,000 people. In West Germany, Mormons have formed several parishes, and the Church is active in other parts of Europe, in South Africa, and in Latin America. (Although there are no missionaries in Vietnam, the Mormons in the Army claim to have made some converts among the Vietnamese.) When the young men return from the mission field, they either continue missionary work at home or become high priests, the group which furnishes the elite of the Mormon theocracy.

Women may not become priests. They are associated with the priesthood through their husbands. Women generally do not go on missions, but do a great deal of Church work and attend weekly Relief Society meetings where they are taught how to beautify themselves and their homes. They are educated to regard their husband as the "priestly presidence of the family . . . the family patriarch."

The Church officially disbelieves in evolution. As one bishop put it, "Science hasn't proved man comes from monkeys. I never saw a tadpole develop into a dinosaur." This creates an ambivalent attitude toward the official educational system. On the one hand, Mormonism believes that God delights in intelligence; on the other, it feels that the land abounds in false prophets. About the only way to get through college, as one bishop with a Ph.D. explained to a group of teenage students, is to pretend you believe all the falsehoods you are taught. To resolve this dilemma, the Church has attached Mormon seminaries and religious institutions to high schools and colleges throughout the west. In many areas, high school students receive credit for taking released time from school to study at the seminaries. A few years ago, the Utah branch of the American Civil Liberties Union questioned the constitutionality of this practice, claiming that Bible history courses, "which are presently being planned, taught, supervised, and otherwise conducted by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" were illegal. The state's Attorney General agreed and ruled against them, but over 65,000 high school students throughout the world, including many in Utah, still receive released time to attend the seminaries.

BUT EDUCATION IN THE THEOCRACY which controls Utah is best demonstrated by the operation of Brigham Young University, the large Church-owned college in Provo, Utah. With over 25,000 students, 95 percent of them Mormons, BYU is the largest private college in the U.S. It may be the only college in the United States where students may be expelled for their first infraction of the dress code: no beards or long hair; no short skirts, pants, or shorts. Visitors with beards have been told to leave the grounds; guest speakers may not joke about dress, drinking, or smoking.

This draconian law is not gratuitous, however, but part of a larger strategy bent on creating a master race. At last year's Commencement, Ernest Wilkinson, University President until this May, said "We are building a race of supermen." This being so, the administration takes great care that no subversive elements undermine the thinking of the *herrenvolk*. Every academic discipline at BYU is a field for Church control. A professor who formerly taught there told me he once expressed ignorance about God to a student and found himself under investigation by the FBI. At one point, the head of the Geology Department was reportedly investigated six times for teaching evolution. Professors have no tenure at BYU, nor any control over the courses they give or in the selection of speakers brought to the campus. The Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools visited the university in 1966 and reported:

> The present curriculum . . . is designed entirely for the purpose of developing and training teachers for the ever-expanding LDS school system.
>
> (1) In agriculture economics, the price support and control policies of the United States government cannot be taught objectively, and in fact in most cases are not taught at all.
>
> (2) In economics, any faculty member with a "Keynesian" approach to economic theory (economy stimulation through money infusions) is systematically excluded from the faculty.
>
> (3) In political science, there are restrictions on who is retained to teach and what is taught about communism, socialism and other political doctrines.
>
> (4) In sociology, the position of the Church relative to the role of the Negro in American society limits both the participation of Negroes in the *full* program (students *and* faculty) of the University and prevents an objective discussion of the ultimate role of the Negro in American society. At least two faculty were leaving the University at the end of the current academic year because of disagreement with the University's position on this subject.
>
> (5) In history, members of the faculty volunteered the observation that they were free to investigate any subject matter at the graduate level, "*except possibly those areas of church history!*"

Two credits in religious instruction are required each semester; students receive a half hour's course credit for attending weekly devotional meetings.

In all areas students are encouraged to inform on each other and on faculty members. In 1967, the administration organized students to expose liberal faculty by asking them what they thought of Red China's admission to the United Nations and other provocative questions. The students turned in unfavorable reports on several professors and filed a bill of charges against one (who was hardly radical, going on leave the next year to teach at the political warfare school at the University of Dalat in South Vietnam). One student though, sickened of the spying, reported the episode and caused such a stir that none of the professors under investigation was fired.

Of the war in Southeast Asia, Ernest Wilkinson has said, "We never had the intention of really winning this war. In my view, we should never enter any war unless we have the resolve and determination and fortitude to win. . . . But again, these views don't detract from the morality of our cause to safeguard the freedom of the South Vietnamese."

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The BYU administration did not allow students to petition against the invasion of Cambodia last Spring until it had organized a group of counterdemonstrators—not a difficult task, considering the huge campus chapter of reactionary Young Americans for Freedom—and had issued an official LDS statement supporting Nixon's policy. But, while the students are fiercely hawkish and the Mormon Church does not recognize conscientious objection, a recent suit charged that an unconstitutional agreement exists between the LDS Church and the Utah Selective Service System, giving LDS missionaries preferential draft treatment. That case is still pending.

BYU HAS A MINISCULE NUMBER of black students. Increasingly, the college is being picketed by athletic teams from other western universities, but none of the students there can fathom why. "You get a sick feeling inside when you see demonstrators and you think it's too bad there isn't better understanding of the issues." Another said philosophically, "Most students are unconcerned. They look at it as a matter that the Church will have to decide. You have to understand, we are taught unquestioning obedience." One obedient student commented to me on racial intermarriage, "I wouldn't marry a colored girl. Whites shouldn't even marry Indians. It causes too much social disruption." (Recently, a Los Angeles County school district sued BYU for $72,000 charging it had paid the university for educational materials "unusable because of [their] slanted religious, political, economic and social ideas.")

Blacks can become members of the Mormon Church, but they cannot become priests or enter some sections of the Mormon Temple because they are cursed with the mark of Cain. As a Church pamphlet, *That Ye Be Not Deceived,* says: "Cain slew his brother . . . and the Lord put a mark upon him, which is the flat nose and black skin . . . after the flood . . . another curse is pronounced upon the same race—that they should be the 'servant of servants' and they will be until that curse is removed." The annals of the Church fathers often refer to the misfortune of black people. One black woman who was denied admission to the Temple was praised after her death by LDS President Joseph F. Smith, who declared that she would "in the resurrection attain the longings of her soul and become a white and beautiful person." While I was in Salt Lake City, a Church official told me, "We believe God is a racist;" he added in a conciliatory way, "In the hereafter, they'll be as white as the rest of us—even whiter."

More important than their exclusion from BYU and the Mormon priesthood is the treatment blacks receive at the hands of the state of Utah. In 1969, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare found that Utah's hospitals, nursing homes and day-care centers all failed to comply with civil rights laws in employment practices and patient treatment. Four years ago, a survey was made showing what types of jobs minority group members held in Utah. The study showed that Blacks, Chicanos, Orientals and native Americans made up 5.4 percent of Utah's total population and almost 3 percent of the state's work force. Almost 9 percent of the state's day laborers came from these groups, 1.9 percent of its white-collar workers, and .7 percent of its officials and managers.

Despite its racial views, the Mormon Church controls not only the education of its own people, but also that of numerous Navajo Indians in the Utah area. Mormons teach at a school run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Brigham City, at some public schools, and on Indian reservations. Over 14,000 native Americans were enrolled in the LDS seminary program last year. In a newspaper letter, a Brigham City teacher described the Church's educational methods:

> I resigned my position at the public school because of the great increase of Mormon teachers. The kids are being hauled off the school grounds after school in private cars to attend classes at the Mormon Church (the only church that does this). I feel that the non-Mormon Indians are being discriminated against here. . . . The Mormons are separating the Navajo people here in town. They are trying to turn them white overnight and tell them they will go to Hell if they aren't Mormon. . . . At Northern Arizona University this summer, a girl (Navajo) from Chinle told her Navajo language class that she was told that she would turn 'white' if she stayed in the Mormon Church all her life . . . that when she died she would really turn 'white.' Missionaries should not be allowed on school property and government property for any reason, or best of all . . . not allowed on the reservation.

In May, several groups brought a suit to close down the BIA school in Brigham City, charging that the constitutional and treaty rights of its students were being violated and that it is racially segregated. The suit charged also that the school discouraged religious freedom and urged the establishment of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints among the students.

Needless to say, Mormon missionaries don't do much work in black Africa, although some years ago there was a flurry of embarrassment when a group of Nigerians got hold of some Mormon literature and wanted to start up a branch of the Church on their own. In 1965, the Salt Lake City chapter of the NAACP passed a resolution calling for governments of predominantly nonwhite populations to bar Mormon missionaries from their countries. The only substantial recruiting the Mormons do in Africa is in South Africa and Rhodesia.

With only 6600 blacks in Utah, every year there's a scare that they're going to invade Salt Lake City off the salt flats. The third president of the Church once envisaged this scene of carnage:

> They will descend upon Salt Lake City in droves to demonstrate and force their will upon the church. When they arrive, a militia will meet them west of the city to prevent their entrance, but it will be quickly overcome by the numbers of Negroes. . . . They will knock down the doors of the temple, . . . enter, and desecrate the temple, even to ravishing the women therein. When the people of the city shall hear of this, they shall gather themselves together and in their anger wipe out the intruders to the degree that blood will flow freely down the gutters of Salt Lake City.

This prophecy was declared insubstantial, yet security

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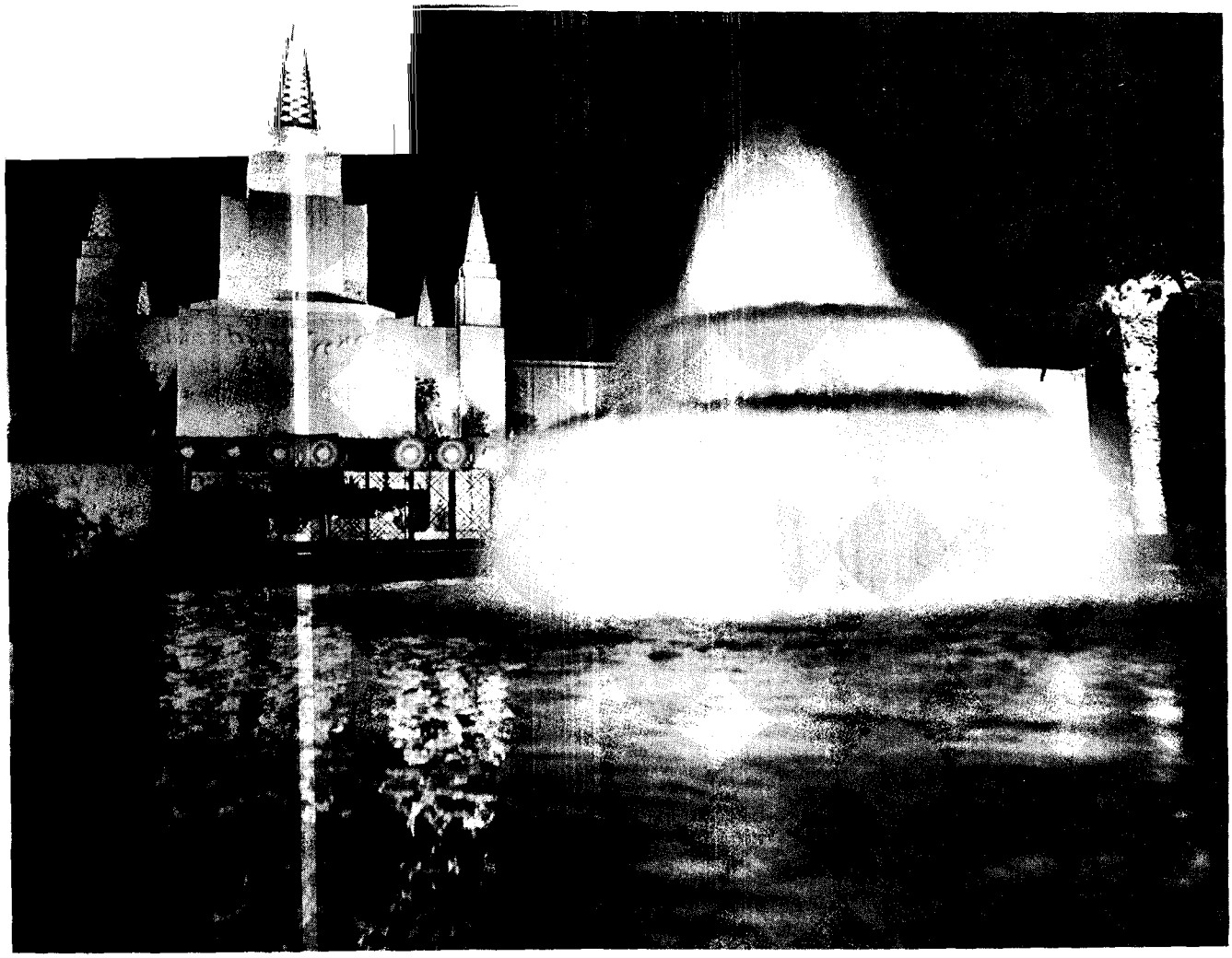

measures are routinely doubled around the Temple during the bi-annual General Conference of the Church. In 1970, the Church brought in uniformed and plainclothes city police and a crew from a private detective agency to supplement its regular security staff. Cops were assigned from the patrol and traffic divisions; all officers were put on a standby basis.

THE CHURCH HAS A FIRM GRIP on Utah's educational system with Mormons heading and controlling not only BYU but most of the state's other colleges and secondary schools as well. But the school system represents only the tip of the imperial Mormon iceberg. It is only the educational arm of a theocracy which owns a substantial piece of Utah, with its properties spreading throughout Idaho and other western states, and as far as Maryland and Hawaii.

Ten years ago, the Church sold its controlling interest in Zions First National Bank—Utah's third largest—to Zions Utah Bancorporation (ZUB) in which it holds a substantial minority interest. ZUB, Utah's only one bank holding company, owns the Lockart Corporation, a Utah-based finance company. Through Lockart Finance Company, a subsidiary, ZUB operates the largest industrial loan business in the state and another smaller loan company. ZUB also does real estate business in Salt Lake City, leases equipment, has a stake in a local savings and loan association, runs a chain of small loan offices in Utah and Colorado, and owns three industrial banks in Colorado; it also owns and operates a supermarket in Idaho Falls.

Much of what LDS does not own outright in the west it controls through Zions Security Corporation, a holding company which owns more valuable real estate in Salt Lake City and the Deseret Farms of Florida, which owns and operates a 320,000 acre ranch near Orlando, runs 80,000 head of cattle and grows oranges.

One good measure of the Mormon Church's power is its suzerainty over the western media. Through Deseret Management, the Church owns radio stations in Kansas City, Mo., Los Angeles, and New York; a radio and TV station in Seattle; and five international short-wave stations. It owns KSL, Inc., which has part ownership over a radio and TV station in Idaho Falls, and AM and FM stations, a TV channel, and part ownership of a CATV franchise in Salt Lake City. The city's two daily newspapers are also controlled by the Church. The *Deseret News* is directly Church-owned, and has about a $20 million interest in the *Los Angeles Times*, and has part interest in the company which does the printing, circulation and advertising for the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Salt Lake City's other daily paper. (It is almost as expensive to place an advertisement in just one paper as in both; consequently *Tribune* policy too is obliquely influenced by the Church. The two papers frequently rewrite from each other, and the wire services often pick up their stories from these accounts.) On its own, the *Tribune* owned 35 percent of KUTV until this spring when

Photograph by Elihu Blotnick/BBM

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it sold its stock to the Glassman family, which now owns the channel entirely and which has massive media holdings in Utah, Idaho, Montana and Hawaii.

The Justice Department attempted briefly and unsuccessfully to block the joint operating agreement between the two newspapers in 1965. Attorney General Herbert Brownell signed a complaint against the agreement and sent it to the Antitrust Division in San Francisco to be filed. However, two devoted Mormons, Senator Wallace Bennett (R., Utah) and Ezra Taft Benson (Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture) persuaded Brownell not to bring suit against the *News-Tribune* agreement, and he sent a telegram to the Antitrust Division at the last minute with instructions not to file.

In 1968, two nonMormons petitioned the Federal Communications Commission to deny the license renewal of KSL, Inc., charging that the Mormon Church controlled too many of the communications outlets in the far west. In addition to its charges of monopoly ownership, the suit against KSL charged that the company broadcasts excessive right-wing political viewpoints with no counterbalancing ideas; broadcasts one religion to the near exclusion of others; broadcasts frequent anti-smoking ads but fails to attack air pollution; neglects information beneficial to the poor; and neglects any acknowledgement of minority cultures. The FCC, headed by Rosel Hyde, a Mormon, refused to consider the case. And while the controversy was simmering, the media in Salt Lake City barely reported it.

The practical consequences of this media conglomerate can involve a conspiracy of silence as well as blatant editorializing for the Church. For example, several years ago, the NAACP wanted to broadcast an appeal for financial help, but its press secretary was told by a KSL employee that an order had been posted that no information about the NAACP would be given out over the station without "the express permission of the First Presidency" of the Church. On another occasion, a story about civil rights and the Church was on the KSL news desk when the broadcaster was told the Church didn't want it to run. The *Deseret News,* although closest to the disaster, was probably the last major newspaper to crusade about sheep deaths from poison gas at Dugway; and recently, on the day the Church destroyed an historic old tabernacle at Coalville, Utah, to make way for a new Church meeting house, the *News,* which had started to print the story, was ordered to stop its presses and print instead the Church's prepared justification for the move.

Even stations not owned by the Church are subject to its pressure through their advertisers. Radio station KSXX, which runs two-way radio conversations with its listeners and has some liberal broadcasters, was approached recently by its Church-owned advertising agency and offered substantial advertising from two Church-owned companies if it would "tone things down." During the Coalville Tabernacle episode, a listener called in to discuss the fact that the station's advertising agency had attempted to reduce the amount of discussion on the subject; he was cut off the air. Since then, the broadcasters have not been permitted to discuss Church-owned businesses.

The Kennecott Copper Company has a plant in the Salt Lake City area which spewed forth 600 tons of sulphur dioxide a day during 1970, so that sulphur dioxide pollution in that valley is worse than in Los Angeles. Kennecott's board interlocks with the Church directorate, however, and recently Kennecott received permission from KSXX to review any anti-pollution ads the station might run. Meanwhile, the Brigham Young University television station, in between broadcasts of Air Force recruitment films and devotionals, shills for the projected Four Corners region power plant. (BYU's president until recently was also a director of KSL.)

The suit against the Church-controlled media of Salt Lake City is not an entirely isolated case. Other suits have occurred when the Church flaunts its monopoly too brazenly. For example, an antitrust case earlier this year charged the Amalgamated Sugar Company and the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company (50.5 percent owned by the Church) of conspiring to fix sugar prices and to fix and sustain artificial freight charges. Utah-Idaho is also notorious for its treatment of Navajo migrant workers who harvest its beets. The company brings Navajos off the reservations in buses and dumps them near the sugar-beet farms to live in housing 80 percent of which is substandard (including school buses, cars, condemned shacks on U & I property, tiny trailers without toilet facilities, and the like) and to labor for pay usually amounting to less than a dollar an hour.

ONE OF THE MORMON CHURCH'S better-known enterprises—in fact, it is used to justify the stiff tithes exacted from Church members—is the welfare program, whose purpose is to provide needy Mormons with financial assistance so that they will not have to seek state aid. This program is regarded as an epitome of Mormonism's truly charitable nature: but, if so, it costs practically nothing, especially when compared with the added leverage it gives. Under its auspices, the Church runs hundreds of tax-exempt farms and 40 factories, which produce 92 percent of what the Church gives its poor. These operations include a shoe polish factory in New York, a shaving cream and toothpaste factory in Chicago, a peanut butter factory in Houston, tuna fish in San Diego, rice fields in San Joaquin Valley—the list goes on and on. Welfare recipients and other Church members volunteer their labor to help run these farms; the Church receives U.S. Department of Agriculture subsidies for their operation.

Unfortunately the welfare program doesn't work quite as generously as is officially claimed. Once a Mormon asks for help, the local Relief Society President comes to inspect his home and, if she decides he is sufficiently needy, makes out a list of what products he may receive from the local welfare warehouse. To pay for these commodities, the needy individual works in the warehouse two days a week doing such jobs as wrapping butter, running milk machines or labelling cans (by hand, so he gains a sense of the dignity of labor and the indignity of penury). Usually, welfare recipients don't receive money directly, and those who are paid for their labor at Welfare Square in Salt Lake City get

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what the Church deems their value to be. One Mormon youth, partially blind and deaf, whose parents wanted him to have some work to do, was offered a job in the rag-room for 80 cents an hour. When his brother complained about the situation, the Church advised him that this was the minimum wage for the handicapped, and, besides, they were running a business, not a charity.

Moreover, little of the produce from the welfare farms goes to the poor; by far the greatest portion of it is sold commercially. Several western counties have tried to put a stop to the Mormon's operation of fraudulently tax-exempt farms and stores, with varying degrees of success. In 1969, one Idaho county began taxing a Church store which was supposed to be selling used goods at a discount or giving them away to poor people. Idaho's Attorney General claimed that the stores were operating as commercial enterprises and should be taxed as such. Another Idaho county is currently trying to put more Church stores on the tax rolls. In 1968, the Salt Lake County assessor tried to place several LDS Church welfare properties on the rolls since their products were being profitably sold. The Church protested that the returns it received were needed either to meet farm expenses or for its central welfare program. The farms in dispute are still tax exempt.

THE MORMONS DON'T JUST OBLIQUELY control the state of Utah; they openly run it. The state governor, Calvin Rampton, is a Mormon. Only about 10 state legislators out of 97 are not Mormons. The legislature functions smoothly to give the Church whatever it wants. When it passed a Fair Employment Practices bill in 1965, attempting to eliminate job discrimination, it exempted all Church-owned businesses from the bill's coverage. Because of Mormon power, the sale of liquor by the drink is still illegal in Utah. So is abortion, except where there is acute danger to the mother's life. According to Mormon theory, conception merely allows a latent but incorporeal spirit to enter the world; therefore Mormons have a particular obligation to let these spirits be born into the correct religion lest they become part of another Church. This makes for a sort of imperialism of intercourse, and not long ago a Utah state legislator suggested that the state animal should be the "pregnant homosapiens." Officially the Church opposes birth control vehemently. Its third President commented in 1913, "I am thankful that healthy, vigorous, strong, sweet babies are the best crop of Utah, and I hope and pray that it will ever be so. I hope that the fashion which is a thousand times worse than the fashions of dress, namely, that of drying up the fountains of life, will never become popular among the Latter Day Saints." More recently, the Church's current President, Joseph Fielding Smith, remarked, "I regret so many young couples are thinking more of successful contraception than of having a posterity. They will have to answer for their sin . . . and may actually be denied the glorious celestial kingdom."

But the Church's political power extends beyond the boundaries of its parent state. The great numbers of Mormons in the west are a help to any right-wing candidate for national office. During the 1964 presidential campaign battle between Johnson and Goldwater, broadsides were circulated in Salt Lake City with the message:

> GOD HAS TOLD US HOW TO VOTE—A Wrong Vote Is Mormon Heresy: This paper is addressed to those who do not know how completely the official doctrine of the Church precludes all sympathy for the present liberal administration in Washington. . . . The Lord sees such things as next week's election as tests of his people's dedication to the idea of freedom. . . . We believe that a Latter Day Saint will be ashamed before the bar of God to confess that he supported Lyndon Johnson, as ashamed as for any unChristian decision he ever made.

A few years ago, Church Elder Ezra Taft Benson said: "I have stated as my personal opinion only that the John Birch Society is the most effective non-church organization in our fight against creeping socialism and godless communism. . . . The Church is not opposing the John Birch Society or any other organization of like nature." Throughout the west, Mormons will vote for any candidate who receives an enthusiastic backing from Utah. (Southern California is particularly rich in Mormon converts.)

Mormons themselves easily wend their way in and out of government. Missionaries are advised that they are welcome to join the FBI, and there are any number of Mormons in that agency and in the CIA. It begins small and works upward. The Sheriff of Salt Lake County, for instance, is a Mormon and ex-FBI agent. The current president of Utah State University, a Mormon, was Dean of International Studies and Programs at Michigan State University while it provided "advisers" to the Diem regime in Vietnam. The LDS Church Commissioner of Education—formerly executive vice president at the University of Utah—worked for the CIA for about four years. He now has authority over Church colleges, schools, seminaries, and institutes throughout the world. Wherever governments do not provide adequate education for their people, the Church says, the LDS establish secondary and elementary schools.

While I was in Salt Lake City, I tried to obtain an interview with the First Counselor of the Church of the Latter Day Saints. I was reproved by his secretary for trying to see him on such short notice. "After all," he told me, "you wouldn't just walk into the White House and ask to see the President, would you? We're more important, although Nixon is a good friend of Joseph Fielding Smith's. We're an international organization." It's true. The Mormon Church has become a fantastically potent force in the United States. It has a hand in the control of critically important institutions in this country, and it acts as a support body to United States efforts abroad. The Mormons have a political doctrine. It derives from their Church's twelfth Article of Faith: "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law." This belief is not only the backbone of the Mormon code of ethics, but it is also the faith which directs the operation of the whole impressive empire of this Church militant.

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How the U.S. (and Britain and Germany...)

A CIA pilot carrying out U-2 surveillance over Cuba.

A squadron of South African fighter pilots strafing guerrillas in the Caprivi strip.

A Thai general hauling a cargo of smack over the Burmese hump.

A German Luftwaffe pilot participating in a NATO exercise.

ALL OF THESE MEN HAVE SOMETHING in common over and above the political nature of their mission. Each of them uses a product manufactured by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, the Pentagon's number-one contractor and recipient of over $20 billion worth of war contracts since 1950; Lockheed has choreographed such extravaganzas as the *Electra*—the Edsel of jet aviation, whose consistently downward flight path forced the company to withdraw it from the commercial jet market; *The F-104 "Starfighter"*—dubbed *"die fliegende Sarge,"* or the flying coffins, by the surviving band of West German officers assigned to fly them; the giant C-5A, "Moby Jet," a $5.4 billion troop-transport plane whose multi-billion dollar cost overruns forced the company to ask the Pentagon to renegotiate its contract. Now Lockheed is back in Washington asking Congress for $250 million in additional corporate welfare payments and the stakes are even higher. If the Burbank, California, missile-maker doesn't get the cash before Congress goes into recess in August, President Daniel J. Haughton has said they will stop production of its latest creation, the L-1101 commercial jet airbus, and that the company will be forced to go bottoms up.

Aside perhaps from offering to bomb the Capitol itself,

by Robert Fitch

C-5A Galaxy Photograph by Wide World Photos

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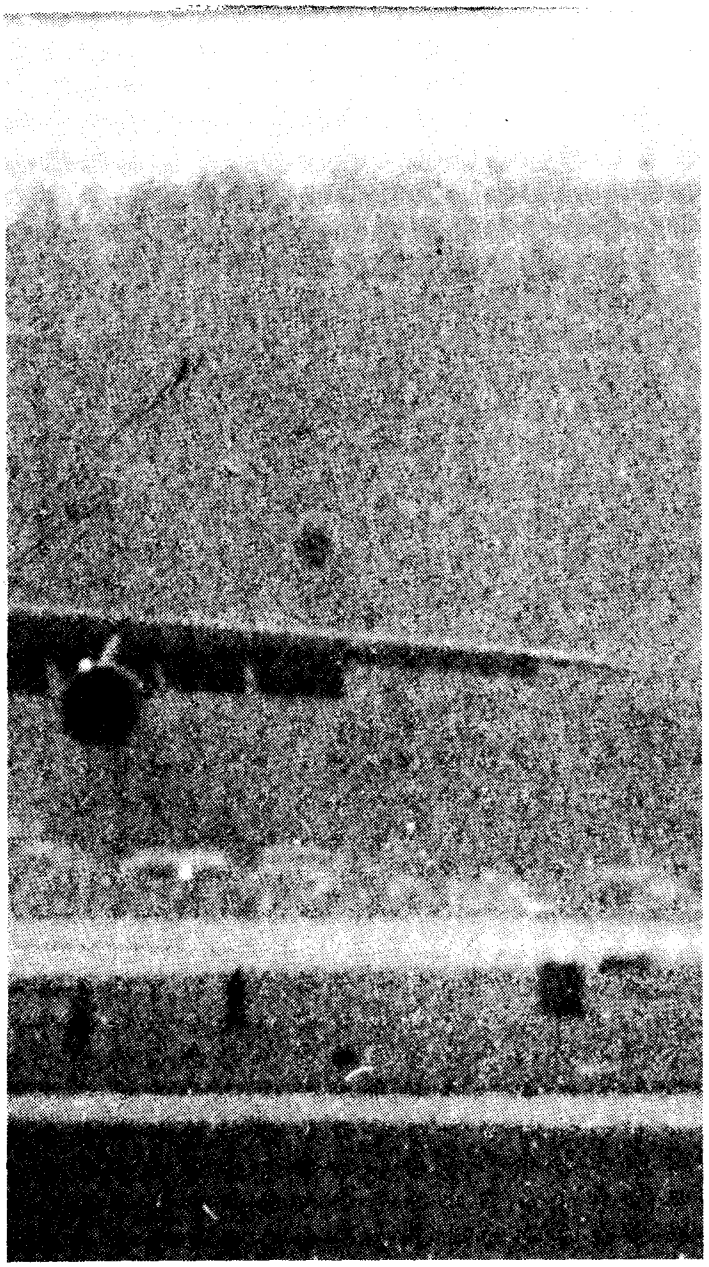

Involved in Lockheed

Lockheed's suicide threat has been its most effective ploy imaginable in focusing Congressional concern on its financial well-being. Even when not asking for a federal subsidy, Lockheed has been hard to love. Many Congressmen argue that the $5 billion the government gave Lockheed for the C-5A should be enough to tide it over for some time—especially since it represents an amount more than the combined budgets of Congress, the Departments of State, Justice, Interior and Commerce. Pentagon critic Berkeley Rice calculates that the C-5A cost twice as much as all federal aid to poverty programs; three times as much as all federal expenditures on public health programs; five times as much as the federal government spends on low and moderate income housing; nearly 15 times the money devoted to the nation's parks; and 50 times more than the federal funds available for urban mass transit.

But that was last year, and now Lockheed says the money is all gone. In effect, company officials are promising to leap off Capitol Hill if Congress doesn't pass President Nixon's $250 million loan guarantee legislation. This drama has provoked a mixed and furious Congressional reaction. Some Congressmen, like Bill Moorhead (D., Pa.) are hollering "Jump!" Lockheed, Moorehead says, is like an 80-ton dinosaur who comes to your door and says, "If you don't feed me, I will die." And what are you going to do with 80 tons of dead stinking dinosaur in your yard? On the other hand, supporters of Lockheed's right to draw welfare payments for the L-1101 "Tri-Star" program—Congressmen like Barry Goldwater, Jr. (R., Calif.)—forecast the most chilling disaster since Chicken Little if the company doesn't get the cash.

On the face of it, Chicken Little seems to have a strong case, for if Southern California's smoggy skies did descend once and for all on Lockheed, it would send tens of thousands of aerospace workers and engineers into the streets, and 35,000 aerospace and electronic contractors would be bankrupted. The damage resulting from a Lockheed collapse could not be confined to California. Twenty-four banks, including Wall Street money market institutions like Bankers Trust, Irving Trust, First National City Bank along with West Coast giants like Bank of America, Security Pacific, and Western Bancorporation, have put up $400 million in credit for L-1101. Three US airlines—TWA, Eastern, and Delta have put up anywhere from $75 to $110 million in nonrefundable deposits to secure their orders for the L-1101. Also involved in the Lockheed maelstrom are its two commercial jet competitors—Boeing, which manufactures the 747 and McDonnell-Douglas, producer of the DC-10. A Lockheed collapse would mean a wider market for their big jets, i.e. something that Boeing in particular, which suffered an $83 million loss in 1969, desperately needs. Then there is the General Electric Company, America's third largest corporation. A large part of G.E.'s sales come from its jet engine division. The L-1101 Tri-Star is being powered by engines manufactured by rival Rolls Royce, despite the fact that the British company went into receivership last February. If Lockheed were to go bankrupt, G.E.'s most dangerous overseas competitor now being managed and financed by the Tory government in Great Britain would receive its *coup de grace*. If the Tri-Star survives, G.E. faces an even more serious competitor in the government-subsidized Rolls Royce.

To put it simply, whether Lockheed folds or flies, some businessmen stand to make a lot of money, and others stand to lose a lot. This fact has not been overlooked by the Nixon administration or by Congress. Quite apart from the great and largely academic questions of principle being debated in the halls of Congress, (e.g., whether or not it is a legitimate function of government to provide funds for private enterprise, whether this bill blurs the already dim line between private enterprise and the state, etc.), the problem of who's to get what and how much has not been forgotten. But this time, with Lockheed and the Tri-Star, it's not a question that the principal parties can debate around cold salmon and sherry as is their wont. It's a matter of simple survival in two inter-related industries

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where competition between the giants has gotten out of hand and requires a painful shake-out. Eventually someone will be thrown overboard to keep the ship from sinking. And the fierce noises in Congress represent echoes of shouts heard in board rooms in New York, Los Angeles, and London. The military/industrial complex which usually presents a united front to the public is deeply split. G.E. attacks Lockheed; Lockheed attacks NAR, NAR offers to take over Lockheed if it goes bankrupt—an offer not likely to enhance the value of Lockheed's common stock. Companies are openly attacking each other in public for the first time. The "special relationship" between Great Britain and the United States is being strained, with Goldwater calling for a re-examination of Anglo-American trade. The Nixon administration is also split. Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard, supreme commander in charge of the pork barrel, offers only *pro forma* support of the Commander-in-Chief's proposal. Finally, New York finance and Southern California aerospace are locked in struggle with several banking chieftains calling for the resignation of Lockheed's entire management. All of these warring Lords of big business have their Congressional retainers. But to understand what destroyed the smooth functioning of the military-financial-industrial-political complex, we have to examine how Lockheed got into the Tri-Star program in the first place.

[GAMES BANKERS PLAY]

THE REAL QUESTION IS NOT WHY Lockheed's managers wanted a contract to build more planes—that's like asking why a politician wants more votes, or why an actress wants more applause—but how 24 bankers could have stretched the limits of conventional lending practices so far as to fork over $400 million to Lockheed. According to Ralph Nader's report, the loan of First National City Bank, one of the Lockheed consortium, represented either "complete oblivion to the economic facts of life or faith in the taxpayers' willingness to bail out the company." Nader's task force points out that Lockheed had a history of failure to produce a successful commercial jet. (Just why Lockheed's management decided to gamble on the 400 mph turbo-prop Tri-Star when Boeing and Douglas were producing 600 mph pure jets is still being debated in aviation circles. Similarly it was already known, in June 1969 when the banks signed the credit agreement with Lockheed, that the C-5A was behind schedule. Lockheed's "technical problems"—the wings kept falling off the C-5A—were being discussed in the press. Labor unrest had assumed serious proportions in test flights. "I would walk through the plant," a civilian advisor to Lockheed recollected, "observing what was going on. The number of workers loafing on the job was absolutely unbelievable." Now, added to all the "problems" inherent in the Lockheed situation is the fact that the giant aerospace manufacturer was competing in the same market with Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas—experienced commercial jet manufacturers—and the loan seems like a form of inter-corporate charity, especially when it is understood that Lockheed not only got the $400 million but got it at the "prime" or lowest rate reserved for excellent risks.

The loan, however, would make sense to bankers familiar with the federally subsidized aircraft leasing racket and the fantastic profits that accrue to the banks financing the manufacture and operation of big jet fleets for the airlines. It's not widely known, but most of the airplanes flown by the five major US airlines are actually owned by the big New York banks and insurance companies. First National City Bank, for example, the leader in aircraft leasing, owns five of Pan Am's 747s, two operated by TWA (plus eight 727s), five operated by American. Citibank's Executive Vice-President has let it be known that "after the Russian and American government, we have the biggest air force in the world." Altogether FNCB owns more than 100 airplanes valued at over a billion dollars.

The pay-off comes not in the airline leases (the airlines are as poor a risk as aircraft manufacturers) but in the 7 percent investment tax credit and in the accelerated depreciation allowance that a grateful Congress has bestowed upon the hard-core of our free enterprise system. *Forbes* magazine etsimates that a typical leasing deal nets the jet-propelled bankers "a 56 percent return on the bank's own investment in the very first year." After 10 years, however, the depreciation credit is lower and the investment tax credit disappears, forcing the banks to settle for a return of only 20 percent on their money.

Since last year's average industrial profit amounted to less than 10 percent, the bankers' enthusiasm for loans to such low-grade risks as Lockheed, Eastern Airlines, *et al*, seems quite plausible. Actually the banks are subsidizing the airlines and the aircraft companies with prime rate credit terms which they don't deserve. In order to get the incredible 56 percent return, the banks are forced not only to grant these subsidies but to coordinate aircraft production with airline operation. Airlines have to buy the planes when they are delivered by the aircraft manufacturers, whether they need them or not. To insure that the airlines and aircraft manufacturers behave according to the banks' flight plans, the big banks own large blocks of stock and sit on the boards of the major companies in both industries.

Citing examples of just two banks: Chase Manhattan Bank holds 7.8 percent of TWA's stock, 6.4 percent of Eastern Airlines, 7.2 percent of Boeing, 6.2 percent of United Aircraft, and 6 percent of Pan Am. with Chase directors sitting on the boards of Boeing and United Aircraft. Morgan Guaranty Trust owns 7.5 percent of American Airlines, 7.4 percent of TWA and 7.4 percent of United Airlines, with its directors sitting on the boards of Boeing, General Dynamics, and American Airlines.

Bank control over the airlines is so heavy-handed that, even though the airlines are suffering from considerable over-capacity, they continued to buy more giant planes. As Blaine Cooke, TWA's senior vice-president, noted bitterly in 1969: "Economically there is no excuse for the airplane [747]. An industry that had a rational control over its own technology would not introduce the 747 at this time because there is no need for it. It is an airplane at least five or ten years ahead of its time in terms of growth of the market. The plane . . . in fact may result in bankruptcies of some airlines, either bankruptcies or mergers."

If the airlines didn't need Boeing's 747 in 1969, they need Lockheed's Tri-Star today like they need more hi-

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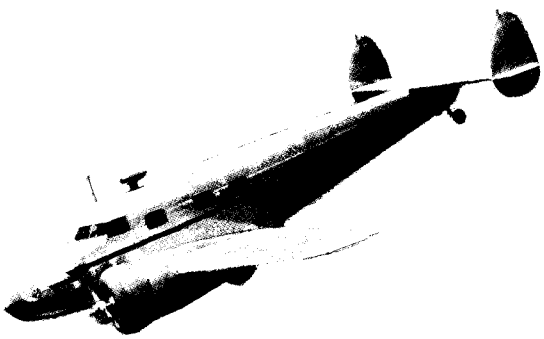
Lockheed's Life and Hard Times



Electra Jr. Model 12 (1936)

THE BIRTH OF MOST aircraft companies can be attributed to inventors, mechanics, flyers and other aviation pioneers. The Wright brothers, Glen L. Martin, Glen Curtiss, Donald Douglas and William Boeing all had an early hand in starting the modern-day military/industrial giants which bear their names. However, even before the propellers of Orville Wright's plane had quit spinning, financial and investment syndicates began to exert a decisive influence on the growth of the infant industry. By 1916 the Wright-Martin Company, for example, was already tightly held by a syndicate of Manufacturers Trust, Girard Trust and the investment bankers, Hayden-Stone.

Lockheed Aircraft Corp. is of relatively later vintage than Curtiss-Wright, Boeing and United. However, evolution of control—from aviation pioneer to financial operator—is similar. Founded in 1926 by two Los Angeles barnstormers, Allan and Malcolm Loughead, the company went broke during the Depression. It was salvaged in 1932 by a syndicate headed by a young Boston investor, Robert Gross. Like millions of Americans, Gross got caught up in the airplane mania that followed Lindbergh's successful trans-Atlantic flight. However, Gross sought to indulge his passion by purchasing plane manufacturers.

To finance Lockheed's expansion, Gross borrowed heavily from West Coast banks but also strengthened his ties with East Coast finance. During the 1930s the aircraft industry was only moderately prosperous, ranking not too far above the chewing-gum industry. Lockheed's first exploration in the military field began in 1935 when the Secretary of War granted the firm authority to negotiate for a multi-engine fighter. "I can hardly tell you how delighted I was to get it," wrote Gross at the time.

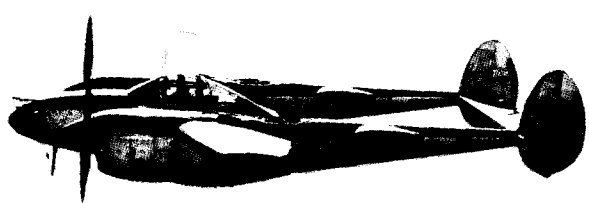
Then, starting in 1938 with a large British order for a military version of its Model 14 Electra, later called the Hudson bomber, Lockheed moved irreversibly into the military market. By the end of the war in 1945, the company looked back on its contribution: 9 percent of all US. planes, including the P-38, the PV-1's and -2's, and the B-17 Flying Fortress (built jointly with Boeing and Douglas). During the war Lockheed also expanded its foreign operations throughout 18 nations on 5 continents. In this it was not unique. Aviation was big business now: its war time sales peak rose twice as high as any total reached by the automobile industry.

During the war a single customer—the federal government—had essentially replaced the market mechanism. Fortunately for the aircraft manufacturers, this customer's purchases were being managed during the war by their own bankers and suppliers. For example, two investment bankers, Ferdinand Eberstadt, a leading member of the War Production Board, and James Forrestal, Under Secretary of the Navy (who in 1947 became Secretary of Defense) were handling procurement and material logistics.

With the end of the war, the airframe industry was plunged into a severe crisis, as a result of the sudden cutbacks in military orders. While the company was able to remain relatively solvent with a trickle of military and commercial sales, in 1948 it came dangerously close to shutting down.

The only forseeable salvation for the firm, and for the airframe industry as a whole, was the government. As early as 1945, two banker-dominated government committees had gone on record favoring actions to subsidize the air industry in light of military and commercial air transportation needs. But, partly because of the demobilization atmosphere, very few of the recommendations were followed up by the Congress at that time.

The aircraft industry began to get desperate. Production had dropped to less than 3 percent of its wartime peak while its plants, labor force and capital structures were still inflated. There were many unsuccessful diversification attempts into the production of everything from dinghies, motor-scooters, electric razor parts to artificial limbs. For all its anti-communism, Lockheed even made plans to sell aircraft to the Soviet Union, preparing ads in Russian and conducting plant tours for Soviet airmen.



P-38 Lightning (1939)

At the same time industry leaders began to push for a new emphasis on airpower as the "core" of America's defense system. What America needed was a 70-wing airforce to save it from extinction. What Lockheed needed was long production runs and steady infusions of capital. The American government would save Lockheed; Lockheed would save the American government. "If the aircraft manufacturing business is to survive, and it must survive because it is the very guts of our air power," declared Robert Gross in May 1947, "we must have a long-range national airpower policy that will make it possible for us to know what is expected of us and to plan in advance for it."

Two months later the National Security Act was passed, creating the Department of Defense, the Central Intelligence

by Joel Yudken

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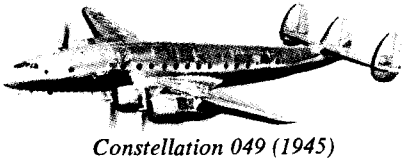
Agency and the National Security Council (NSC). The ultimate authors of the Act were a group of influential banker-"civil servants" including Forrestal, and Eberstadt, and its purpose was to merge State Department goals with military strategy, and to place the military establishment under more direct civilian control. An NSC directive (NSC-68) issued in April of 1950 outlined the plan for a permanent war economy, including a quadrupling of the military budget and an all out effort to contain communism everywhere.

Another significant event in July 1947 was the creation by President Truman of a five man Air Policy Commission headed by corporate attorney Thomas K. Finletter (who later became Air Force Secretary). Other Commission alumni included West Coast shipping tycoon, John A. McCone, who later became CIA Director, and Harvard School professor, George P. Baker, who is now a Lockheed director.

Their report "Survival in the Air Age" found the Air Force "inadequate" for peace and "hopelessly deficient" in the event of war. It forecast Russian atomic power early in the 1950s and recommended that air-power form the "core" of a new national defense concept. An essential element of air power, it said, is a strong aircraft industry, "skillful in technological application, efficient in production, capable of rapid expansion, and strong in basic financial structure." It also asked for a long-range buying program to stabilize the industry, cut costs and enable it to expand fast to meet a crisis. This meant "heavy appropriations" would be necessary from Congress and the administration. Along with NSC-68, this document laid out the blueprint for the future military industrial complex. Almost on cue, the Korean War persuaded Congress to support the recommendations with large appropriations measures.

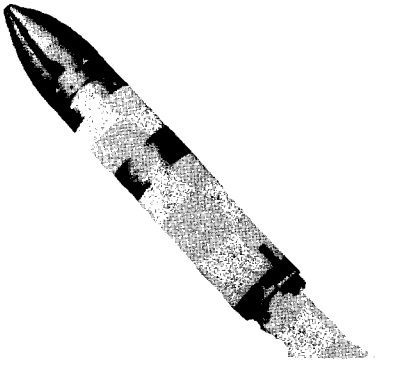
From then on, Lockheed and all the other defense contractors rode the waves of the ever-rising defense budget. After Sputnik in 1957, it began to receive military contracts for the Polaris and Poseidon missile systems and the Agena satellites. During the last decade it has been doing big business in the Indochinese War, producing the C-130 and C-141 military transports, the U-2, SR-71 and Y-03A reconnaissance craft, the Twister and Terrastar land vehicles, the F-104 Starfighter, naval destroyers, electronic surveillance products, small missile systems for jet fighters (SRAM), etc. The C-5A, a prime source of Lockheed's present problems, is being built for use in Vietnam and similar kinds of conflicts.



Constellation 049 (1945)

Most of Lockheed's subsidiary companies have been acquired since the Korean war. The major corporate plants are scattered throughout the country, from Marietta, Ga., and Plainfield, N.J., to Burbank, Calif. They make everything from integrated electronic circuits to Poseidon missiles and Naval destroyers. Lockheed also runs several service and maintenance stations around the country. Approximately 90 percent of its sales and services are purchased from the Pentagon, making it the nation's number one military contractor (a position it has held for seven of the past eleven years) and one of the military's most important suppliers of materials.

Foreign sales and investments are not a small part of Lockheed's operations any more than foreign operations are a small part of government policy. Approximately half a dozen American aircraft companies, including Lockheed, supply a large percentage of the military aircraft used throughout the world. This corresponds to a policy of bol-



Poseidon Fleet Ballistic Missile

stering the military might of American allies while attempting to offset the unfavorable balance of payments resulting from American military troop deployment abroad. Lockheed planes, are in use in the air forces of at least 37 nations, including South Korea, Japan, Greece, Pakistan, South Africa, Spain, Saudi Arabia and Thailand.

Utilizing such agencies as the Export-Import Bank, the US government has long played an active role in fostering arms sales overseas. In 1959 Washington applied unprecedented pressure to the Bonn government in West Germany to buy a large quantity of Lockheed F-104G Starfighters. This action came just in time to pull the corporation out of a slump. But it almost destroyed the Luftwaffe as a result. More than 180 of these fighters crashed, killing more than 60 German pilots, and causing a great scandal. The whole affair led to economic and budgetary crises in West Germany. In fact, it was one of the major causes of the downfall of the pro-American government of Erhard in 1966.

Lockheed's own recent problems began in 1965 with a victory. It had barely under-bid Douglas and Boeing for the contract to develop and produce 120 C-5A transport planes for the Air Force to enhance America's "remote presence" capability for dealing with worldwide insurgencies."

The C-5A contract was the first one under a new contracting system, designed by McNamara's Whiz Kids, called *Total Package Procurement* (TPP). Attached to this contract was a complex repricing formula, dubbed the "golden handshake" by its critics, which allowed the new system's excess costs and losses to be "shared" by the contractor and the Air Force. This assured the contractor of being bailed out by the government, in the event of trouble. In Lockheed's case this was almost immediately.

From the very beginning the program started to overrun. By mid-1969 Air Force Secretary Seamons placed the

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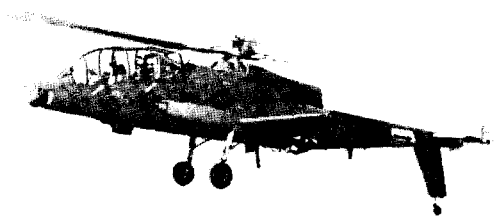
overrun figure at $1.1 billion (*Armed Forces Journal,* March 14, 1970). The causes of the overruns were manifold. Inflation contributed, but technical difficulties proved to be even more significant. The wings fell off, the landing gear collapsed, and the electrical system malfunctioned. Equally significant were the reported gross inefficiencies in the plants. These deficiencies and deceptions were not unusual phenomena for Lockheed or for the aerospace industry as a whole, but this time there was an unforeseen development. In Congressional hearings held by Senator William Proxmire (D., Wisc.) late in 1968, a DoD cost analyst, A. E. Fitzgerald, breached the etiquette of the trade and gave a detailed account of the cost overrun, the inefficiencies and technical difficulties, and the series of DoD-Lockheed coverups and subterfuges to prevent public knowledge of the situation. He also confirmed Proxmire's estimate of a $2 *billion* overrun, placing the cost of the total program at an incredible $5.4 billion.

The Pentagon moved swiftly to protect the guilty, and Fitzgerald and his abettors were removed from their jobs. But the production run of C-5A's was also reduced to 81 planes, plunging Lockheed into a financial panic. For the "golden handshake" provision only went into effect if the Air Force ordered more than 90 planes, and now Lockheed stood to lose more than $500 million. Lockheed's response was to sue the government for default on the remainder of the original 120 plane order, and to make a formal request from the DoD for $641 million in "interm financing" to keep operating, pending the outcome of negotiations on four weapons programs: the C-5A Galaxy transport, AH-56A Cheyenne helicopter, SRAM missile and general shipbuilding projects.



AH-56A Cheyenne Compound Aircraft

After getting assurances from the bank consortium of its willingness to back the aerospace corporation, Secretary Packard went all out to get a Lockheed support bill through Congress. In July 1970, the Senate authorized a $200 million contingency fund as the first installment of government payments to Lockheed in order to keep it in business, despite the fact that there was no legal liability for the Pentagon to do so. In December 1970 Packard sent to Congress his "fixed-loss" negotiation proposal which included a $200 million loss to Lockheed on the C-5A while the government would assume the additional cost of $900 million. After substantial armtwisting pressure from Packard, Haughton reversed an original rejection, and bowed to the Pentagon Proposal, setting the stage for the current crisis.

Joel Yudken, a former engineer at Lockheed Missiles and Space Company, is currently a member of Pacific Studies Center.

jackings. But the lure of 56 percent profits must have egged the bankers on; they showered hundreds of millions not only on Lockheed but on the airlines which agreed to buy the Tri-Star. In all, the banks have sunk nearly a billion dollars into the Tri-Star.

With an investment of this magnitude, the US banking consortium must have been staggered to read the news that on February 4, Rolls Royce, manufacturer of the Tri-Star's engine, the RB-211, had decided to declare bankruptcy. Overnight their investment in a jet airbus had become rather dubious equity in the world's largest glider. Lockheed's chairman Haughton professed to be stunned too. Rolls Royce had served as both the symbol and the substance of British engineering superiority. There was, of course, the opulent Silver Cloud and the Bentley; but automobile production accounted for only 5 percent of Rolls Royce sales, and it was the aircraft engine division that brought in the real revenue. Rolls Royce workers achieved a high standard of excellence in this sphere too. Experts still consider the Rolls Royce Conway engine, which powers non-American versions of the Boeing 707, the quietest, smoothest-running and most reliable jet engine in service in the Western world. Lockheed favored Rolls Royce engines precisely because of the competitive edge they would give with airline customers over the McDonnell-Douglas DC-10 which uses the less advanced G.E. engines.

But the Lockheed-Rolls Royce deal would never have come off simply because of Rolls' product superiority. After all, demonstrated engineering excellence had been insufficient to crack the US aircraft engine market since 1953, when the turbo-prop Dart went into service on the Vickers Viscount. Opposition from US manufacturers had been too strong. What clinched the Lockheed-Rolls deal and sent G.E. into a tailspin of rage was the financial and political acumen of Rolls Royce's merchant bankers, Lazard Brothers. The role they played in bringing Lockheed and Rolls together, and their importance in maintaining the "special relationship" between Great Britain and the US, has been discussed so little in the present controversy that it deserves further examination.

[COWDRAY'S SILVER CLOUDS]

BRITISH MERCHANT BANKERS PERFORM roughly the same functions as an American investment banking house or a French *banque d'affaires:* they underwrite the sale of new securities. No British merchant banking house is more prominent than Lazard Brothers. And if one is trying to discover the financial underpinnings of Great Britain's "special relationship" with the US, a beginning could be made by noting Lazard Brothers' connection with New York's Lazard Frères, which acts as investment advisor for the Chase Manhattan Bank, I.T.T., R.C.A., Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals and others, including Jackie Kennedy. The next step would be an examination of Lazard Brothers' relationship with Great Britain's second largest merchant banking house —Morgan Grenfell. Founded by Junius Morgan's partner George Peabody in 1832, M.G. is controlled today by J. P. Morgan & Co. Its head, Lord Harcourt, is related to the Morgan family (and brother-in-law of Lord Ashburton of

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Barings). The transatlantic ties between Morgan and Lazard are quite evident, for example, in the establishment of the Melbourne investment banking house known as the Australian United Corporation. Basically, this corporation unites Lazard Brothers, Lazard Frères, Morgan Grenfell and the Morgan Guaranty Trust, which created it.

As Lord Kindersley, a Lazard partner and former chairman to Rolls Royce explained before a British Parliamentary committee, "Morgans and ourselves are probably closer than any other two issuing houses in the City of London; we discuss intimate details of every kind and description. I do not think Lord Bicester (Shell, Bank of England, Vickers, *et al*) would find it the least surprising that I should come to him and say to him: 'Look here, Rufie, is it too late to stop this business or not?' " Given the enormous size and influence of the Morgan Guaranty Trust (its $16.8 billion in trust assets make it the world's largest; its former chairman Thomas Gates served as Defense Secretary; its attorney, Dean Acheson, Secretary of State), it's probably better to have "Rufie" on your side.

Along with Lord Kindersley who headed Rolls, Lazard's Chairman, Lord Poole, served as financial advisor of Rolls. He has also been Chairman of the Conservative Party, as well as its Treasurer, and has participated directly in the selection of at least one Prime Minister. All of these duties are perhaps subordinate to his stewardship of the fortune of Lazard's major stockholder, the legendary Weetman John Churchill Pearson, the third Viscount Cowdray. Lord Cowdray is the largest individual stockholder in Shell Oil, he owns the *Westminster Press, The Financial Times* and half of the *Economist*. The Cowdray interests include three important "trusts"—mutual funds, they would be called here—Whitehall Securities, S. Pearson and the Cowdray Trust. He also is probably the largest stockholder in Rolls Royce and what *Fortune* calls "an obscure London firm called Air Holdings Ltd." In a press release attacking the Lockheed-Rolls Royce deal, General Electric brings Air Holdings out of its undeserved obscurity as follows: The Company ownership includes British and Commonwealth Shipping, Ltd., 45.9 percent; Furness-Withy, a surface shipping line, 20 percent; P&O Steamship, Ltd., 20 percent; Broadminster Nominees (Cowdray interests), 8.1 percent; and Eagle Star Insurance Co., Ltd., 6 percent.

The largest single group is British United, which owns 128 aircraft, including helicopters and runs Airwork Services, a wholly owned subsidiary now setting up the Saudi Arabian defense network.

Other principal companies within the Air Holdings structure are British United Airways (Channel Islands), Airwork International, Airwork Services, Aviation Traders (engineering), British Air Ferries, LeRoy Tours, Lyons Tours, Manx Airlines, Sierra Leone Airways, Norton Air Services, Safe Air of New Zealand and Whitehall Travel Agency.

With control of airlines not only in Great Britain, but all over the world, Lord Cowdray was well able to meet the main political objection that General Electric was making to the original engine deal: G.E. argued that subcontracting the engines to Rolls Royce would result in a flow of dollars across the Atlantic so considerable that the US balance of payments position would be threatened. Lazard Brothers, Rolls Royce and Air Holdings Ltd. were capable of coming very quickly to an agreement (controlled as they were by the same man). If Rolls Royce won the contract to build the engines for the Tri-Star, Air Holdings would buy 50 Tri-Stars from Lockheed. Essentially, Lord Cowdray volunteered to write a check to solve the US balance of payments difficulty. If Cowdray was flashing a financial "V" sign, he could be forgiven; at least he came by it honestly, since his cousin was Winston Churchill.

Less than three years later, cost overruns on the RB-211 had driven Rolls Royce into bankruptcy. Seemingly, defeat had been snatched from the jaws of victory. But, underneath the declaration of insolvency in the bankruptcy, there lay more than a simple cash shortage. To be sure, "Royce," as its Derby work-force calls it, owed a lot of money. Even when the deal for the Tri-Star engines was first struck, the company's debts had already reached nearly 90 percent of its total assets. A great deal of this debt was accumulated through Lazard's financial policy which pushed, or guided, as the case may be, the company into a series of costly acquisitions aimed at eliminating all domestic competition. These debts carried a heavy service charge. And in the first half of 1971, when sales turned downward, Rolls suddenly found itself losing money at the rate of over $200 million a year.

At this point, despite what the *London Economist* called "the appalling damage" done to Britain's commercial reputation, bankruptcy had its distinct advantages. All through the nearly three years of work on the RB-211, Rolls and Lockheed had been eyeing each other's balance sheets nervously, each afraid the other would bankrupt first. Consider how much worse Rolls' bargaining position would have been with respect to Lockheed, if Lockheed had made the declaration. Instead of Lockheed being stuck with a plane and no engine, Rolls Royce would have found itself with an engine—a fantastically expensive one at that—but no plane. Rolls was much more vulnerable. And while Lockheed subsidies to Rolls Royce are conceivable, Rolls Royce subsidies to Lockheed are not. With Rolls Royce beating Lockheed to the door of the bankruptcy court, it was Lockheed that found itself under the gun. Until February 1971, Lockheed had been playing a double game, not only with Rolls Royce, but with its bankers: shifting big chunks of the $350 million credit supplied by the consortium for Tri-Star production to its C-5A project. Throughout 1970, Chairman Haughton ordered the Tri-Star's production schedule cut back; employees were laid off; and deliveries from suppliers slowed down.

(Continued on Page 62)

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Culture counter Culture

Jack Nicholson Looks East

"The revolutionaries have created a voice, but I don't hear anyone listening. . . ."

JACK NICHOLSON EATS soft-boiled eggs for breakfast ("Three minutes and forty seconds, please."), and that may be as great a clue to his personality as anyone other than a close friend can offer. He's elusive, non-committal.

Who is this *enfant terrible,* now risen from "B" grade bike movies and avant-garde westerns to two consecutive nominations for Academy Awards —*Easy Rider* and *Five Easy Pieces*— and the *cause célebrè* of the last Cannes film festival, for *Drive, He Said?*

It's not that he's unwilling to talk about himself, or his films—he just finished an exhaustive stint of promotional tours for *Drive, He Said*—but he steadfastly refuses to categorize himself, or even to make statements in his films that would make categorization simple.

Nicholson's "meteoric" rise to stardom has been a long time coming. Before he won wide popular acclaim from *Easy Rider,* he put in long, marginally successful years as an apprentice actor, writer, producer. He had acted in *Cry Baby Killer, Studs Lonigan, Too Young to Live, Ensign Pulver, Flight to Fury, Ride the Whirlwind, The Raven, Little Shop of Horrors, Hells Angels on Wheels, Psych Out,* and *The Shooting.* He had written or collaborated on *The Trip, Head, Flight to Fury* and *Ride the Whirlwind,* and had produced *Ride the Whirlwind, The Shooting,* and *Head.* None of his films before *Easy Rider* had gained any appreciable notice in America, although the westerns (*Whirlwind* and *Shooting*) were, and still are, very popular all over Europe. In short, Nicholson has paid his dues—as much or more than almost any star on the screen today.

Nicholson has always been at least a competent actor, and his writing has suggested some degree of genuine originality, if not genius. *Head,* which he wrote and produced in 1968, was one of the first *commercial* films to use subliminal cuts, and his two westerns are, in his own words, "the last step forward that the western form has taken. They touch a deeper level of reality in historical context. Not because of set design or props. Not because they're antiquey looking, but because the philosophical roots of the films are based in the real existential reality of the West."

However, prior to 1968 when he joined the independent BBS Productions and made *Head,* Nicholson had been working with major Hollywood studios where personal vision and artistic integrity are the exclusive property of about half-a-dozen film artists of the stature of David Lean and Mike Nichols. Caught up in the "systematic intra-office bureaucracy which debilitates creative effort more than anything," his uniqueness had presumably remained untried.

When Nicholson joined Bob Rafelson, Bert Schneider and others, for the formation of BBS in 1968, he was probably motivated as much by the desire to work exclusively with friends, as by the need to get outside the repressiveness of Hollywood. BBS has since then become a kind of model production company. Two of its first three films (*Easy Rider,* '69, *Five Easy Pieces,* '70) have been huge successes, and the company's gross profits must be making the Zanucks turn envious shades of green.

According to Nicholson, "The faults or assets of any BBS film are pretty much those of whoever signs the picture—the director. We have an ideal relationship. There's no sentimentality about it. BBS does the same kind of dirty work that a Hollywood company would do—the kind of work that's necessary to produce and promote a film. But they hold to the philosophy that they're doing it as a service to the filmmaker." Furthermore, the company is remaining small enough so that a kind of filmmaker's *ensemble* is emerging. Rafelson and Nicholson have joined forces on three recent films, and actress Karen Black has appeared in cameos or leads in the last three films. One of the supporting actors in *Drive, He Said,* Henry Jaglom, is the director of a new, yet-to-be-released BBS film, *A Safe Place.*

It's not mere coincidence, therefore, that the success of BBS films and Jack Nicholson are integral parts of the same story. BBS's *Easy Rider* made Nicholson an overnight not-so-young boy wonder. His performance as the lovable, alcoholic, teddy-bear lawyer who's taken under the wings of Peter Fonda's and Dennis Hopper's

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choppers was what would otherwise be described as a "cameo," lasting not more than about 15 minutes. But after the gut-level excitement generated by the film had cooled, it was the image of Nicholson that remained: sitting astern Fonda's bike, bedecked in football helmet and high school jacket, arms flying akimbo with a grin as wide as the highway. He was *the* American innocent, headed abroad and bound for victimization.

Certainly the nature of the character was largely the creation of the writer and director, but Nicholson brought to the role a freshness and an awkwardness—a complex of freedom, daring and stupidity—that was more honest and genuinely American than even the singular violence of the Louisiana rednecks. He stole the movie, a fact recognized by the Academy, which nominated him for best supporting actor in 1969.

Armed with the *Easy Rider* success and reams of newspaper plaudits, Nicholson moved on to BBS's *Five Easy Pieces,* directed by his old friend Bob Rafelson. In the leading role of Robert Eroica Dupea, he played a sensitive young intellectual who'd shucked off the middle-classical restraint of his wealthy musical family and moved from their island retreat to go slumming in mainland America, bowling with a gang of idiots, working in an oil field, drinking vast quantities of hootch, and balling the local chicks. Some great, never-precisely-defined ferment tore his soul, presumably a conflict between restraint [repression] and freedom [anarchy], spirit and the flesh. In the end he brings the story to a smashing non-resolve by throwing over both his old and new identities, and heading down the road alone—seeking another easy piece maybe. Nicholson plays Dupea as a man who can forget neither his blue blood nor remember his all-American heart.

NICHOLSON'S NEW PICTURE, *Drive, He Said,* is both courageous and—as film—exciting to watch. Nicholson has had the courage to populate his story with all the clichéd faces of recent "revolutionary" movies, but then to step back and refuse to deliver on the romantic revolutionary situation. "This is not a movie about a revolutionary," says Nicholson. "That's not a very interesting film to me at this point." Given the original story and cast of characters, the film could very easily have become a "movie about a revolutionary." Thank God it doesn't. Politicos who go to it looking to have their backs scratched will probably attack it on political grounds. But they'll be wrong. The movie has no politics; its ultimate intention is an aesthetic one—and if it fails, it must fail on that level.

Then, the movie is beautiful to watch. The acting is always at least good, the pacing is exciting, the cinematography is widely varied and interesting in its grainy, documentary approach, and the director is at any given moment perfectly honest. The film *as film* is just about all one could ask.

The "book" of the film is based on Jeremy Larner's novel of the same title, published in 1964. In the style of epic narrative, Larner's book dealt with the just-emerging sense that something was gravely wrong in America. Small enclaves of radicalism on American campuses were demonstrating against absurdities such as homecoming-day parades, collegiate athletics, dormitory hours, deans and other nonsense—all objects seemingly fit for derision at the time, though now properly ignored. The book, through various levels of fantasy and reality, creates two heroes from a triangular drama. Roommates Bloom and Gabriel, athlete and radical respectively, become entwined in what for the book is a moving and more-or-less *heroic* drama. Bloom's love affair with a professor's wife (Karen Black), his BMOC role as the school's All-American basketball player, and roommate Gabriel's revolutionary activity and eventual martyrdom (and even his love for Gabriel), all suggest a sense of individual *drama* carried on in the manner of young American heroes. Their actions affect not only the book's readers, but presumably the cast of characters around them. In some manner, however so slight, they affect the course of history for that time and that place.

Nicholson and Larner collaborated on the screenplay, and aside from the usual and necessary up-dating, wrought some interesting changes. Not unexpectedly, the fantasy level of the book disappeared, in keeping, no doubt, with Nicholson's obsession for realism. There remains the epic nature of the narrative, with all the familiar and by now clichéd character types of "political" movies: the handsome, sensitive athlete, the anarchist/visionary/speed-freak/radical (isolated even within his own group—as is Bloom), an adorable and hard-hearted cock-addict professor's wife, an impotent intellectual, capitalist pig businessmen, a machismo basketball coach, and almost virginal cheerleaders. The characters are "types," as Nicholson himself admits. They are symbolic, archetypal constructs representing the various kinds of "leaders" in society—political, revolutionary, athletic, intellectual, sexual. They are not *real* characters. They don't think about such things as what or where to eat dinner. Their entire beings are absorbed in political action, the "animal joy" of basketball, sex, love, hate, fear, jealousy. In other words, they operate on a surreal plane, quite above the daily concerns of life on this planet.

The archetypal quality of the characterizations would be fine *if* they had an equally archetypal and meaningful milieu of situation. But the *situation*—the action—is thoroughly realistic. Nicholson's avoidance of even the slightest suggestion that the action of the story has any broad, reverberating *meaning* creates an unresolvable tension between the characters and their situation. What he offers in the film is a "no-drama" story peopled by "dramatic" characters. The action fails to elicit a response from either the viewing audience or the dramatic audience (such as the crowd of students at the end of the film who passively look on as Gabriel is being hauled away by the white-coats). Nothing happens. Life goes on as it always does—as it always has—always will. In the film, Gabriel is even robbed of his martyrdom, which in the book caused at least a momentary shudder in the dramatic audience.

"What really stood up (in the film) about the book," says Nicholson, "is what I liked about it, which was a sort of universality of the themes, as a piece of literature, *not a piece of*

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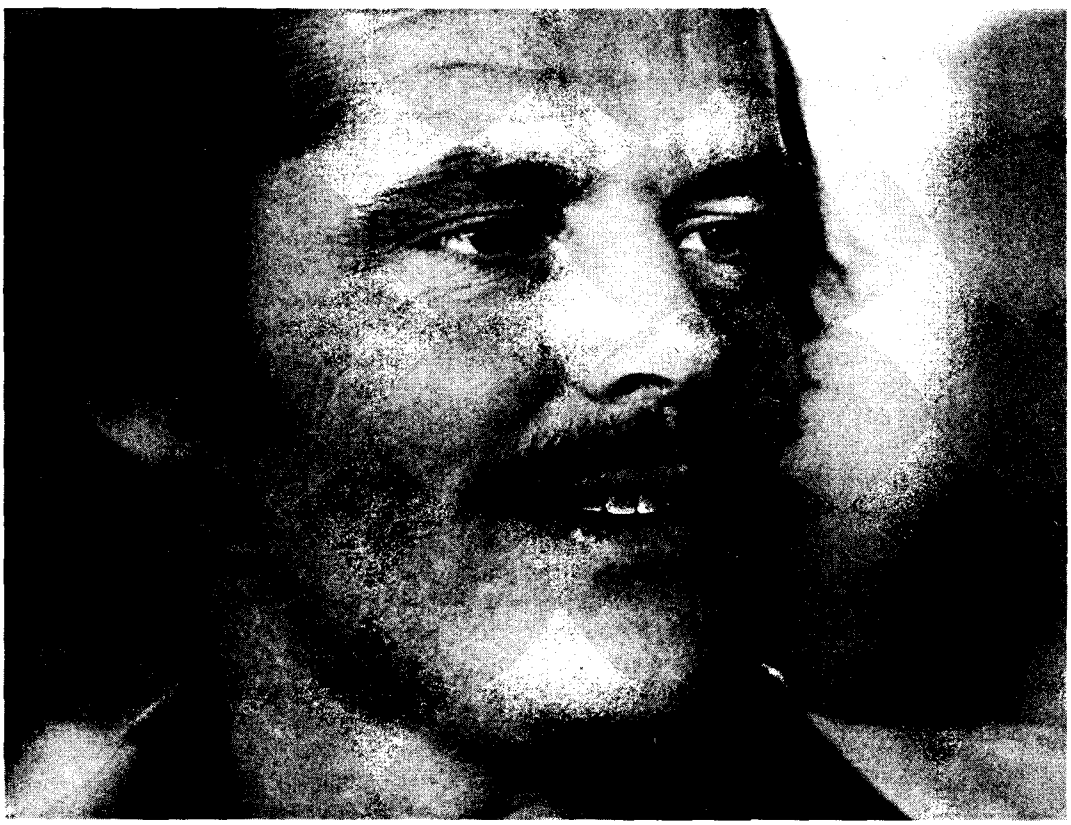

Jack Nicholson and Michelle Phillips

journalism. . . . I think there will be a shift in politics to the East," he says (meaning the Far East, not New York), "just as religion has looked to the East." Rather than deal directly with such problems as the war and Richard Nixon, we'd do better, he feels, to deal with them indirectly—look beyond them, or around them, as if they weren't there. Radical politics, he believes, has achieved nothing: "I know people are trying to do good things, but I don't see a lot of success in all the attempts. The revolutionaries have created a voice, but I don't see anyone listening to the voice. I see them as you see them in the picture. . . . At the end of the film, when the camera drops back, you see all the rest of the people on the campus just kind of looking on (while Gabriel is led nude to the padded truck), and it's just another event that day in that society. Everyone's left standing there. That's the way I see it. Thing's just go on."

THE THEME MOST IMPORTANT to Nicholson is the primal issue of determining one's relation to the society as a whole, and the effort to make that relationship positive and meaningful. Nicholson's relativistic view of human action would seem to make such a quest well-nigh impossible. Certainly he views Gabriel's symbolic political protests, such as the guerrilla theater staged on the basketball court, as non-effective activity. It's just part of the show. However, at the point when Gabriel is faced with the prospect of being drafted, his priorities turn from political to purely personal concerns; he must fight for self-survival, a legitimate concern in Nicholson's catalogue of universal themes. Gabriel corrupts his "legitimate" quest, however, by *means*—he resorts to getting loaded on amphetamines before his induction physical, an approach that generates his paranoia and hysteria, leading to his eventual freak out. Gabriel, presumably, should have "looked to the East." (But "looking to the East" seems to be the exclusive right of the affluent and successful.)

In Larner's book, Gabriel, after having freaked out, gets atop a homecoming-day float in a parade (a chicken wire and tissue construction of a football player and a scholar decked out in mortar-board and robes) and sets fire to the whole—self included—while roommate Bloom looks on. In the film, rather than be martyrized by self-immolation, he's carried away to the looney-bin. "Because that's what's happening to them," says Nicholson. "They're just being carried away." No effect. "Look to the East."

Bloom's problem is to justify his love of basketball against the objections of roommate Gabriel. Is the thrill of waltzing down the court to the cheers and shrieks of the crowd an ignoble pursuit? Are the momentary rushes he feels while playing basketball compatible with the political realities of America? Are they sufficient unto themselves? Is sex sufficient unto itself? Is an exciting film sufficient unto itself?

In our interview it becomes clear that Nicholson the artist identifies with Bloom the basketball player. Each does his thing well, each loves his work; each is dedicated to the heady excitement his work produces on himself. And each is defensive about the value of his work outside the purely aesthetic. "Hector (Bloom) is a more central character," says Nicholson. "I think he'll touch more people, even

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though people won't respond to him as much. He faces his own inner sense of doing what he likes to do, in this case something very simple—basketball." Bloom's only disadvantage is that he hasn't the intellectual equipment to rationalize his position. Nicholson has.

"Politically I'm a humanist," says Nicholson, "I believe in universal goals." He absolutely abjures the specific goals of contemporary political action, and insists that "I don't have a big truth that I'm trying to tell. I just try and relate honestly, to see the truth and convey it about a given situation the best I can."

Bloom, like Nicholson, never defines himself in language. "I think he suggests his depth," says Nicholson. "That's all you can ask from the character. I don't think it's interesting to actually mouth or espouse their inner philosophies." Nicholson's approach to the *art* of dramatic film reminds me, more than the work of any other dramatic artist, of the preachments of Anton Chekhov. Like Chekhov's, his characters are oblique, caught in action rather than developed, sensitive to non-verbal levels of communication, manifesting through gesture and behavior the primal conflicts that rage in their inner beings. The avoidance of political solutions, or even well-defined problems, also marks both dramatists. Chekhov wrote in a famous letter to Suvorin that "it is not the business of the artist to solve narrowly specialized problems . . . for special problems we have specialists: it is their business to judge the community, the fate of capitalism, the evil of drunkenness, boots, female maladies. . . ."

Nicholson feels that *Drive, He Said* represents a "summing up" point in his career to date, that the film is definitive of the shape of American youth today, as he sees it. In other words, he's eminently satisfied with the work. Whether his attitude about the film is spoken in dead earnest, or just defensive dodging, remains to be seen. He claims, at any rate, that he's going to take a long-deserved vacation at home. He's been working "everyday for three years," and now he wants to lie back and watch things. He discusses the possibility of doing some "pure entertainment movies," such as spy thrillers, or just wating around for the next step forward to present itself. He says he would even like to move into a kind of Shavian role sometime in the future, offering bold and courageous solutions unashamedly. "I hope," he says, "that a project that is beyond this sort of defining-the-dilemma-without-really-offering-the-solution will occur in my own thinking, or something will present itself from without that does have a positive, forward-going statement to be made and may indicate some direction." As to whether he'll follow the muse of writing, directing, acting or producing: "I'll follow the most creative energies that I feel in the atmosphere."

Finally, a personal remark is in order. Jack Nicholson is one of the most dedicated, most gentle, honest and loving filmmakers in America today. He tends to be controversial not because of his techniques or politics, but because he strives as few others to be totally human.

And if you should ever have the good fortune of having breakfast with him, remember the eggs—three minutes and forty seconds.

—JON STEWART

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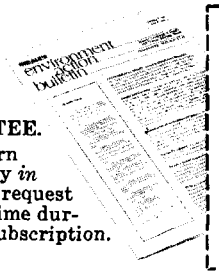

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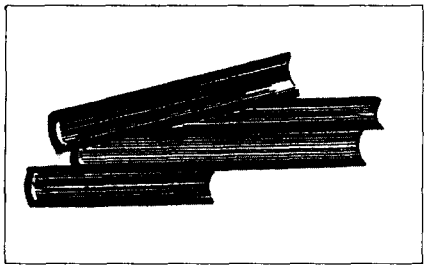
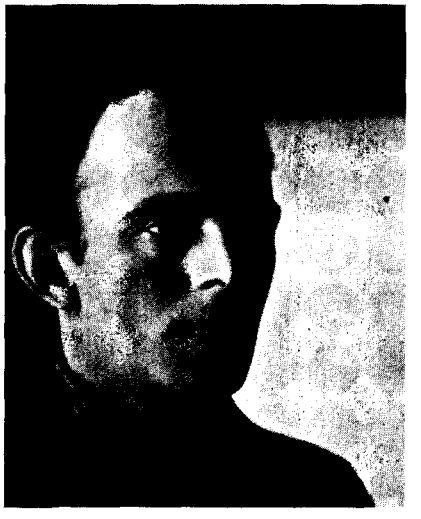


Poet and Revolution

HOPE AGAINST HOPE, A MEMOIR, *by Nadezhda Mandelstam, Collins & Harvill Press.*

OSIP MANDELSTAM, for most Westerners an unfamiliar name, was one of the most original and powerful Russian poets of the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary periods, who might have left an even deeper mark on modern Soviet literature if in the last years of his life he had not been cruelly hounded by Stalin and driven to death, at the age of 47, in the frozen wastes of the Siberian far north. Nadezhda Mandelstam, his devoted companion from 1919 till his death in 1938 and author of this important memoir, survived him, and also the worst Stalinist times and the war by sheer chance, a whim of fate helped by that instinct of self-preservation which was so visibly sapped and drained away in her husband. She was younger and tougher too. From 1938 till 1964, the year when she was finally allowed to return to Moscow, she taught English in a number of schools. She had to move from one provincial town to another, because, while some of these places might have been god-forsaken, they were not forsaken by the political police who made life too dangerous for her.

At the age of 57, as Head of a Department of the Chuvash Teachers' Training College (which may have been set up by Lenin's father in the early 1880s), she earned her doctorate in English philology. About the same time, in 1956, she was summoned to the Prosecutor's office to be told that her husband had been cleared of the the charges of "C.R.A." (counter-revolutionary activity) under which he had been deported to his death. But this was only a half-hearted "half-rehabilitation." As a writer, Mandelstam has remained one of those "unpersons" who wander ghostly through Soviet history. And the volume of his poems promised in the first flush of de-Stalinization has not appeared so far, although more and more people read poetry in the manuscript copies which circulate all over the country. Six years ago students of the Mechanical Mathematics Department of Moscow University organized, on their own initiative, the first memorial reading of Mandelstam's poetry. The book by his widow, however, had a slender chance of reaching the Soviet reader and so the Russian manuscript was taken out of the country and published abroad.



Osip Mandelstam in 1922

Nadezhda Mandelstam tells little of her own early life. From Clarence Brown's Introduction we learn that she was born in 1899 and spent her entire youth in Kiev in the home of Jewish professional parents whom she describes as "nice, highly educated people." She and her family "travelled widely, nonchalantly, naturally," says Brown, as did the handful of those who could afford it at that time. Her education was that of a *jeune fille comme il faut:* she studied art and became acquainted with European centers of art and culture; the knowledge of foreign languages which she acquired in childhood from resident governesses ("parson's daughters," she calls them) stood her in good stead later on, when translations provided the only means of livelihood for the declassé intelligentsia. As a young girl, she moved on the fringes of artistic and literary circles and met Mandelstam, eight years her senior, at the age of 20. There is a tinge of bitter symbolism in the fact that their first meeting, like their final separation nineteen years later, took place on May first.

OSIP MANDELSTAM was "picked up" by the security police for the first time in May 1934. Nearly four years later he was lured into a rest home not far from Moscow, where he was ostensibly so well looked after that the order given by Stalin previously to isolate but to preserve him seemed still valid. True, some "rustling of grass" and "shadows of the clouds" stirred his fear. The forebodings were justified: the peaceful country villa was used as a trap.

On May Day 1938, Mandelstam was taken to Butyrki prison and then dispatched to the far north. His wife saw him for the last time as he was brutally "pushed from behind by two soldiers" towards the Black Maria waiting outside the rest home. Some months later, she was permitted to send him a parcel, but it was returned with a note "Addressee dead." A formal certificate issued much later stated that Mandelstam died on December 27, 1938 of "heart failure." His death occurred, as far as one can ascertain, in some transit camp, probably in Vladivostok, and so he was mercifully spared all the torments of Kolyma.

The immediate reason for Mandelstam's first arrest was his poem about Stalin—never written down, but recited widely by all and sundry during the mid-30s, and known quite well to the political police. In the poem he refers to Stalin as the "broad-chested Ossete for whom every killing is a treat, about the "Kremlin mountaineer—the murdered and peasant slayer:"

His fingers fat as grubs
And the words, final as lead weights,
fall from his lips,
His cockroach whiskers leer
And his boot tops gleam."

However, in this particular arrest, a miracle happened, the first of several for the Mandelstams. "As a supreme act of clemency from the very highest

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level," Nadezhda writes, the "supreme authority" ordered his underlings not to proceed with the case but only to "isolate and preserve" the accused. In the end, Mandelstam, together with his wife, was sent to Cherdyn (on the Pechora river, some 200 miles north of Perm). Very soon afterwards they were allowed to settle in any except the twelve major cities which were out of bounds for them for the next three years. They chose Voronezh and the neighboring countryside. To Moscow they were not to return until 1937.

What accounted for this "miracle," a very rare one indeed in the history of Stalinist terror, was that Bukharin, (whom Nadezhda rather crudely calls "the proponent of terror") saved her husband. Bukharin wrote a letter to Stalin, hinting that Pasternak, who enjoyed Stalin's favors, and with him "literary public opinion," was very disturbed by Mandelstam's arrest. This time the trick worked: "literary opinion" was still something to be reckoned. It is quite clear that Pasternak's reaction was less than edifying, though Mandelstam tries obliquely to blur this impression. Stalin telephoned Pasternak and reproached him for not having interceded in favor of a colleague: "If I were a poet and a poet friend of mine were in trouble, I would do anything to help him," Stalin is quoted as saying. Then Mrs. Mandelstam relates Pasternak's reply: " 'The writers' organizations haven't bothered with cases like this since 1927, and if I hadn't tried to do something, you probably would never have heard about it'." Pasternak "went on to say something about the word 'friend,' trying to define more precisely the nature of his relations with M., which were not, *of course*, [my italics] covered by the term 'friendship'." When Stalin interrupted him saying that Mandelstam was a genius, he heard the reply: "But that's not the point." In the end Pasternak asked for a personal meeting with Stalin, but the "Kremlin mountaineer, the slayer of peasants" hung up. There was still one more remark made by Pasternak which the author of the memoir charitably omits quoting, "since it could be held against him by people who do not know him."

Throughout the rambling, digressive memoir, Nadezhda Mandelstam sketches innumerable portraits and profiles of the famous, less famous, and infamous personalities on the Russian scene. Her assessment of people is inevitably colored by her inborn and inbred convictions and prejudices. She is at her warm-hearted best when she deals with people of her own or her husband's generation like Ehrenburg or Akhmatova.

With the poet Anna Akhmatova, Osip Mandelstam seemed to have shared a real "communion of poetic souls." They influenced each other to a great extent, and many of Osip's life experiences found their reflex in Akhmatova's poems. Her lyricism must have acted as balm on his mind which was in constant torment; her reticence soothed his frenzied temperament; the boldness and originality of his form must have stimulated her to go beyond her more conventional form of expression. Both in their process of creation went through a similar auditory phase: ". . . a poem begins with a musical phrase ringing insistently in the ears; at first inchoate, it later takes on a precise form, though still without words . . . (M. never talked of 'writing' verse, only of 'composing' it. . . .) The whole process of composition is one of straining to catch and record something compounded of harmony and sense as it is relayed from an unknown source and gradually forms itself into words. The last stage of the work consists in ridding the poem of all words foreign to the harmonious whole. . . . Such words . . . become lodged in the body of the poem, and removing them is hard work."

But no task proved harder than the attempted composition of an Ode to Stalin. Mandelstam had no taste for martyrdom which he saw as Calvary devoid of grandeur. Like Akmatova (for the sake of her son), Pasternak, and so many others who had to seek salvation, he too made his offering to the "Kremlin mountaineer." For this he had deliberately to unhinge his mind and work himself up into an alien and hurtful trance of hebetude. The Ode did not save his life, but by a quirk of poetic nature was followed by a whole cycle of highly charged, emotional, expiatory verse; it was as if the Ode, like a rock, lay atop an

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awakening volcano; once the rock was removed, the lava erupted into a powerful stream:

Unhappy is he who, as by his own shadow,

is frightened by the barking of dogs and moved down by the wind

and wretched is he who, half-alive himself,

begs a shadow for alms.

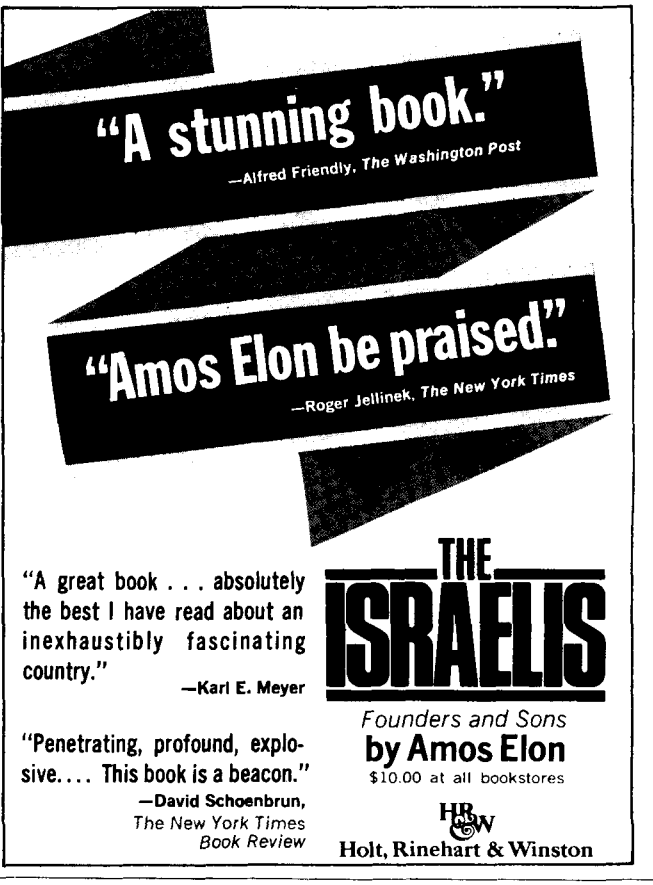
OSIP MANDELSTAM WAS A TRAGIC figure because he lived in the times and age which he could not make his own. In his very early poems, there is the youthful expectation of renewal by revolution and the days of triumph ahead. But when the revolution was there, he could not come to terms with it. He was trapped between a reality which he did not understand and which confused him and the principles of "social justice" he had professed. As if mesmerized, Mandelstam had his gaze firmly fixed on all the miseries and sufferings and irrationalities of the revolultion—and could see nothing else. At the same time he feared that the revolution "might pass him by," and he still believed that his "oath to the fourth estate" obliged him to accept the Soviet regime. In the poems written in 1922 and 1923, he often refers to himself as "the drying crust of loaf long since taken out [of the oven]," as "a sick son of the age, with quick-lime in his blood."

Mandelstam belonged to the intelligentsia which was formed in the first decade and a half of the century: (like Ehrenburg and Pasternak, Gumilev, Akhmatova's first husband, Tsvetayeva, Otsup, Paustovsky, Marietta Shaginyan, Zinaida Gippius, Zamyatin and Bunin) in the period when the Russian bourgeoisie definitely turned against its revolutionary radicalism of 1905, a radicalism which, anyhow, did not go beyond demands for a softer, more "European" regime. (It was said of the men of letters of that time that they wrote most movingly and beautifully about the poor. But when October came, a deep gulf divided them from the worker, the soldier, and the poor peasant.) Soon after 1917, these poets and writers went abroad, or became "internal emigrés," or attuned themselves only too well to the prevailing mood and became—in Trotsky's words—fellow-travellers. Some even travelled as far as Stalin's court and were rewarded with Stalin Prizes.

For the last, Mandelstam was too refined, too uncalculating, and too tempestuous in his relations with people. He himself was not fully aware of how firmly rooted he was in non-revolutionary Russia. In his adolescence, a whiff of Herzenism stirred his social conscience; he embraced Acmeism, a reaction against the super-loftiness and mysticism of the Symbolists, which was for him not only "nostalgia for world culture" but also affirmation of "social concern." But the Acmeists as a group disintegrated in 1914. In 1921, the founder of their Poets' Guild, Gumilev, was shot for his part in an anti-Bolshevik conspiracy. Mandelstam's "social concern" was essentially concern about Russia's middle classes and their bourgeois values. ("What don't they like about the middle class? . . . They are the most stable section of the community and everything rests on them.")

NADEZHDA WENT THROUGH none of her husband's doubts, hesitations, and *dechirements de coeur;* hers is not a "divided soul." She never really accepted the revolution and had no qualms about this. She condemns the revolution wholesale and goes even further into history. "It was only in Russia that the idea of popular education was replaced by the political concept of indoctrination," and for this she blames Herzen. Even the pre-revolutionary radical-woman-student-type does not escape her scorn on account of the "non-descript hair done in a bun" and the "dowdy dress." The poet's widow takes upon herself the duty of demolishing—for the sake of historical truth—the stubborn legend of the "idyllic" 1920s during which nothing, nothing at all, was created and people were busy destroying old values.

As her story unfolds, one becomes more and more aware of her leniency and forbearance towards fellow-travellers, time-servers, and even ordinary informers. Their behavior, reprehensible though it was, can be understood because they acted under duress. Her mind seems, however, to be quite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closed to the enormous complexity of the drama of what she calls the "victorious side." She treats the victorious side also *en bloc,* making an exception for Bukharin who, she says, saw how horrifyingly reality was deviating from the original, pristine concept of the new order and had a premonition of his fate. In her understanding, it was the determinist doctrine, viewing the study of life as it was as superflous, which accounted for the deep divorce between theory and practice and which then simply led to the outlawing of any inquiry and, consequently, prevented any action which could have put a stop to the inevitable trend of events.

How exclusively Nadezhda's attention is focussed on "her own side," and how tightly she closes her eyes to the tragedy of the "victorious" one, is revealed by her remark that "nobody had lifted a finger" to prevent Stalin from coming to the top. Surely she must have heard about various Oppositions? Surely the names of, say, Mrachkovsky, or Rakovsky, or Serebriakov, or Radek, or Pyatakov, or Antonov-Ovseenko were not completely unknown to her? If she had not witnessed them herself, then at least she must have heard that there were some anti-Stalinist demonstrations at the tenth anniversary of the revolution, for example?

She does, however, ask the inevitable question: Was there any moment at which the terrible ordeal could have been stopped? But here again she is almost completely concerned with the fate of the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia proved unable to hold out for its independence not only *vis-à-vis* Stalin; its original sin was that, disunited and badly shaken, it could not stand its ground even before. The fear of chaos and of people's wrath made it pray "for a powerful hand that would stem the angry human river. . . ." The fear of "the mob" persists in Russia till this very day, she says, and haunts young as well as old.

Well before the war, Pasternak told Mandelstam that he was engaged on writing a prose work "about us all." This could only have been *Doctor Zhivago.* Reading *Hope against Hope,* one seems to hear Pasternak's Lara, recalling the good old days of the past century: "It was taken for granted . . .

Osip Mandelstam in 1937

that it was right and natural to do what your conscience told you. For a man to die by the hand of another was a rare, an exceptional event. . . .Murderers happened in plays, newspapers and detective stories, not in everyday life." Then, Lara goes on: "falsehood came into our "Russian land . . . the root of all evil was the loss of faith in the value of personal opinion." Nadezhda Mandelstam says, ". . . all values, truths and laws had been done away with. . . . Christian morality—including the ancient commandment 'Thou shalt not kill'—was blithely identified with 'bourgeois' morality. Everything was dismissed as fiction. . . . A number of terms such as 'honor' and 'conscience' went out of use at this time."

Throughout her sad, nostalgic and confused reminiscences, Nadezhda maintains her "incorrigible optimism." What does she expect, what does she hope the future will bring? "Russia once saved the Christian culture of Europe from the Tartars, and in the past fifty years, by taking the brunt on herself, she has saved Europe again—this time from rationalism and the will to evil that goes with it." Acording to her, all values collapsed because "they were based on nothing except boundless confidence in the human intellect." The very premises of her kind of optimism are unacceptable to me. It was unreason, not reason, which led to the cult of the "Kremlin mountaineer;" after the dementia of Hitlerism, after all the bloody irrationalities of Stalinism, at a time when powerful Christian nations of the world are madly trying to bomb out of existence the weak and the poor, what hope can there be if we wantonly discard even further our confidence in human intellect?

— TAMARA DEUTSCHER

Notes from Rainbow Farm

WE MADE IT THROUGH last winter believing somehow that Paradise would unfold around us with the green leaves. We were wrong. The energy we had for building, gardening and working together is being dissipated in worrying about the bills and the problems we have with each other. The garden has more weeds than vegetables, and some of the plants have been killed by the remains of last year's broad-leaf herbicide. The barn we dreamed about remains unstarted. We have endless group meetings where we try to discuss our problems, but many things have been left unresolved. Some of us think that more talking together will help us. Some of us think that fewer meetings and more playing together would be better. But here is one thing we all agree on:

Dandelion Wine

Collect a lot of dandelion flowers (about 5 gallons to make 10 gallons of wine)
Cover with an equal amount of water
Soak for 9–11 days
Strain out the flowers
Add yeast (3 cakes for up to 10 gallons)
Wait until it doesn't fizz anymore
Bottle and cork (check corks in a week, burp the bottles so if they are still working they won't explode—we lost a lot that way)

Store for as long as possible. Open

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after a heavy collective meeting.

The farm is not yet owned by us but borrowed from a friend whose plans to live here had changed. The cost of maintenance—food and building supplies, as well—has been unequally shared, with one person responsible for a disproportionate amount. If we were the good communists we would like to become, this would make no difference. It is not our money, after all, but our families', and most of it is rotten: land speculation, an overseas chemical factory, drug advertising, media empires, in some cases outright crookery, even in the system's own terms. If our parents acquired their wealth at a high price to themselves, to the rest of the world, and to us, why can't we transcend it, use it freely to live a life that is less harmful to our fellow man and possibly, in the long run, revolutionary? It is beginning to seem to us that we cannot. We are not just children of capitalism but its prisoners. Several things happen, all of which we hate. The people who pay the bills come to feel that others are here for the security of their money. Those who contribute less feel indignant, trapped by an internal Calvinism that consciously was long ago overcome: I work for my money, why can't they? We scrape together money to pay bills collectively, while people clutch onto their extraordinary private travel machines (among them a Porsche, a Land Rover and a Honda 450). We scrounge $3.00 by laboring outside the farm, then buy Lido Cookies and plastic pies. Someone is forced by conscious and subtle pressure to take an ill-paid job which keeps her away from the farm: it is imposisble for the rest of us to feel good about our friend working for $30 a week when there is money all around us.

It took me many months of waylaid fantasies to believe that I was just as responsible financially to the group as the guy who was one hundred times richer. In my simpler phase I was sure that, if he just gave it all to the farm, it would bond us together in an unpossessive way. Sad, but untrue. The fact that he's spent twelve times more than the rest of us has created enormously more complicated roles than the normal "workin' for The Man" kind of scene.

So I guiltily took a job for The Man, and everyone thought it was absurd and I knew that things were getting chaotic on a philosophical level. But when the restaurant manager told me I was the most mature applicant for his job so far, I believed him and became a waitress serving fancy French cuisine. I took an instant liking to the toothless, baggy-panted dishwasher, and he promised to save me all the scraps for our pigs, dogs, friends, whatever. The bartender was a woman who reminded me of Ethel Merman. She talked about local communists but thought the ones in our town were harmless since they had no connection with the Russian universities. She and the chef gave me a lot of support in my new experience, but the manager treated me like a mindless slave. He quizzed me about how the tables were numbered and what the day's specials were. I was fascinated by him in a bitter way, and tried to remember the pose of sophisticated determination that has gotten me through every nasty situation I've been in since the age of two.

The customers either bored me or scared me, and on some occasions we seemed, humorously, equal. My first servees were four nuns who all ordered the exact same thing. They were sweet, and laughed when I poured coffee in their half-filled teacups. After that I thought I could learn good things from the people who came in, but, when the nuns left and the big executives arrived, I could see that it wouldn't be true. It was impossible to talk about women's liberation, and I was acting the epitome of everything I'd hated for the last two years. No one believed me when I said I lived with my family on a farm. One Saturday night, two drunk, slick young tyrants made snide remarks about my clothes (I couldn't afford a uniform) and my conversation with a woman at the bar. They criticized the fact that I was wearing white canvas sandals with black opaque stockings under a low-cut Chinese print dress. I admit I looked a little bizarre, and I don't understand quite why I overprotected my legs and overexposed my cleavage, but for them that wasn't the issue. They figured it was the way all Lesbians dressed, and watched carefully to see how I and my "girlfriend" of five minutes were getting along. She was just a girl waiting to meet her date, and I had to serve her. But they had me flustered. Their mocking questions made me want to spit in their faces and throw food all over the floor. At home I began to feel the same way.

The job became increasingly alienating to me, and was the source of my two greatest paranoias. One was that I felt powerless at work and, because of being away so much, equally powerless at home. The other was that I could have been living anywhere and doing the same thing. It was fun to feed the pigs those puffed french-fried potatoes and fun to feed half-eaten fillets to the dogs. But it was little consolation to know that it was all for the sake of a $30 a week contribution to the farm. The boundless energy I once felt toward the farm and the family I love was zapped by the contradictions and our swirl of problems. Before too long, I quit.

When our waitress returned to the farm, we felt relieved. But desperate to find a way to pay our bills and to equalize our contributions, we reached for another solution: collective work. We thought (and still hope) that we might find work enough for ourselves and for neighboring communes, so we organized a tentative local labor pool, advertised in the local ad-weekly, and waited. On the first weekend we got our first calls: for roto-tilling gardens and mowing lawns. It was late in the season for roto-tilling and the people wanted it done fast. Well, the roto-tiller broke, the trailer to the jeep broke, parts were not available, and it looked bad. Borrow . . . we borrowed a roto-tiller, squeezed it into the jeep and took off. After one week of working other people's gardens—trying at the same time to work on our own sex role-playing and not let the men do all the roto-tilling—we found we had made barely enough to make a dent in our bills.

So far we have found some means to do it (gifts from mamas or friends, our own hidden caches), but it feels neither right nor secure, and now so much is unclear.

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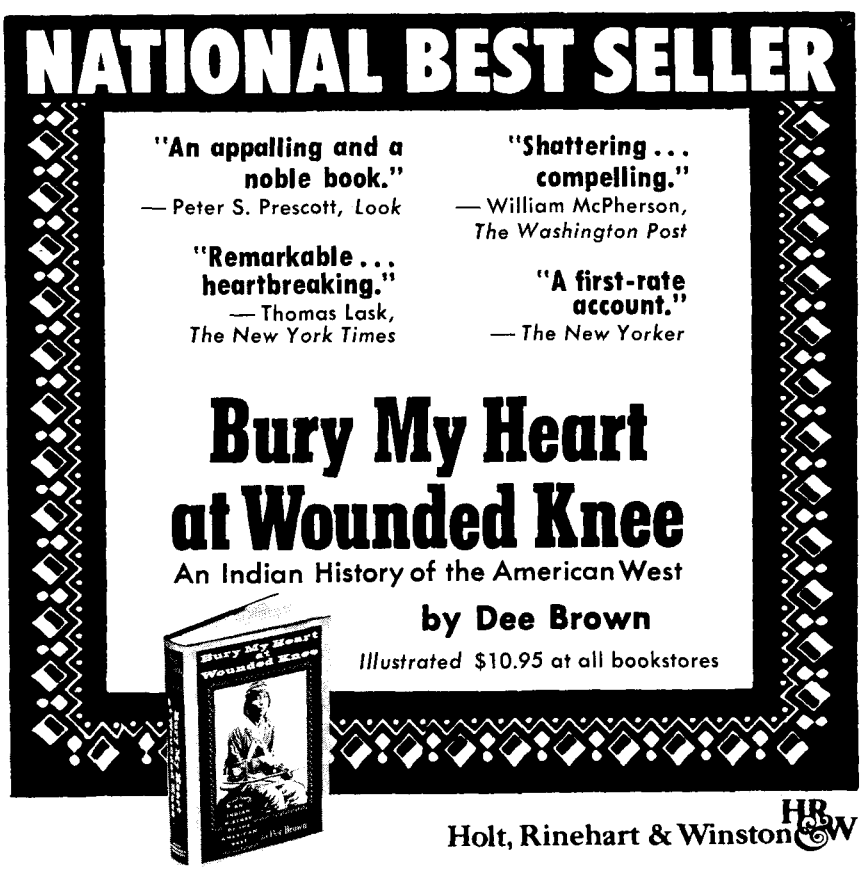
WHAT'S GOING ON? It seems that we've re-created what we all hated in the society we came from: among other things, a desire for conformity. Sometimes the changes we ask each other to go through are not the changes that would free that person but changes that make it easier for us to identify with one another. It doesn't work. It only creates extreme paranoia—a word we now use freely to describe the depth of the mutual mistrust we have discovered. Part of our problem may be that the space we live in is so small that we are literally grafted onto each other's lives. Or, as someone unaptly put it, we want to have squatters' rights in each other's souls.

We've talked about our dislike of closed, monogamous relationships, and suddenly we think we've found a monogamous couple in our midst. We've talked about new ways of raising children here who are the sole responsibility of their mother and a noisy annoyance to some of the rest of us. We know we want to break down work roles, and still the women generally take responsibility for the kitchen and the men for work outside the farm. We think we are being open and flexible, but the woman who has just joined us, whose ideas and experiences are slightly different, dreamed that our farm was like an army and that we had cut off all her hair.

So we have in many ways created a microcosm of what we feared and wanted to escape, mainly because that is what we know how to do. It is easier to understand what we don't want than to define a different tomorrow; none of our attitudes vanished simply by our moving to the country. We are afraid to let go and try something that might make us lose all we have—even the farm—or allow us to change to a better place.

Right now we do not know where we stand. Sometimes it seems that we are impossibly different and must separate. At other times it seems that we have something to work out together. We think that our demands on each other have often been too intense, insatiable, like a bad group marriage: at least that we have tried to homogenize our ideologies long before we began to see what steps each of us needed to take in our daily lives. We are thinking now about the possibility of giving each other more space for growth; creating a community bigger than a commune, with separate houses for some of us, but common projects —an environment that will let us respect and learn from each other, realizing our capabilities instead of tearing each other apart.

Farming turns out to be the easiest part of what we do. This morning I woke up to a quarrel between our four-year-old who brought an egg upstairs and dropped it, and his sleepy brother who commanded that he clean it up. I stumbled down and brushed my teeth (no toothpaste) and got the dregs of coffee for breakfast, which I drank to the blast of some record I did not want to hear. The day looked beautiful. I got three letters in the mail (one of them a rejected poem that's been rejected eight times) and I sat outside with the folks for a while, feeling fairly congenial since we decided yesterday one solution was we should each build our own cabins on jointly owned land, and get a little out of each other's hair. I checked out the daily record of who was splitting and who was staying (not bad) and made my own plans to leave for a week with some of the women for a little R&R. I called my mother after a debate over the phone bill ($186) and she says she's having two parties this weekend for her friends and when was I coming home. The Land Rover went to town to return a roto-tiller we borrowed for our outside tilling jobs and to pick up our own ancient, just-fixed roto-tiller ($30 of repairs: we get $3.00 an hour for tilling, so that's a good deal more expenditure than income, the usual story). I came in and fixed up Paranoia's Box, a device which I hoped would help us in this article: just an empty box into which everyone could drop their favorite paranoias. Our neighbor who runs the town grader came by, grading the road in his new huge yellow monster. He's our friend. In the winter he plows us out and pulls our cars out of the snow. We used to babysit for his kids. He says: "So you make a mistake? That's why they put erasers on the ends of pencils, isn't it?" —RAINBOW FARM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WHAT YOU HEAR IS WHAT YOU GET. *Ike and Tina Turner, United Artists (UAS 9953)*

IKE AND TINA TURNER'S first reported public performance took place during the Battle of the Bulge in 1944, when they were known as Andy and Mandy. Tina's age at the time was 12, although she passed for 16; Ike was 15 and claimed 18. Their act was a fairly standard amalgam of blues and jazz then known as "race music."

Their first record appeared on the long defunct and now extremely rare Red Parrot label: two Robert Johnson songs, "Traveling Riverside Blues" and "Last Fair Deal Gone Down." In print in 1946, the 78 disappeared along with Red Parrot two years later.

And here are Ike and Tina with an utterly superb two-record album recorded during a concert at Carnegie Hall last winter. The music is largely familiar—top 40 type hits previously recorded by Big Brother with Janis Joplin, Sly, Arthur Conley, Aretha, Creedence, the Rolling Stones.

The sound is exactly that of the Ike and Tina Review—big band with plenty of brass, the Ikettes, a little of Ike's voice (which I dig and would have liked to hear more of) and a lot of Tina.

And the whole point of "live" albums, as distinct from studio cuts, is the sense of presence and excitement of real flesh-and-blood performers communicating with a living audience. The technical quality is not up to studio level—retakes aren't possible and very little editing can be done. It's certainly worth the price, especially when the human moment occurs:

Tina in the middle of a fantastic, exciting version of Otis Redding's and Jerry Butler's "I've Been Loving You Too Long," ad-libbing "Baby you got my nose open!" I'm not sure how Tina feels about giving head to every guy in Carnegie Hall (or how Ike feels about her doing it) but I guess she must dig it, and even on record you've got to be damned abnormal not to fall into what you're hearing. What you hear is what you get—absolutely!

It's hard to pick the best cut in the album but I have to point at Tina's version of "Honky Tonk Women" and then stand back in astonishment and joy and just let her cut loose. What a beautiful, raunchy, sweating, living thing is her version of that song! Incredible! I think that's what live albums are all about—Tina Turner singing "Honky Tonk Women" in Carnegie Hall. She does make me wish I'd been there.

(Due to legal complications *What You Hear Is What You Get* was released in the U.S., while a similar album taken from a Paris concert was released on Liberty for non-U.S. sales. If you're *really* dedicated, find a record importer and get both albums, but if you're not quite that dedicated get the United Artists-Carnegie Hall version and just dig it.)

FIRST PULL UP ▲ THEN PULL DOWN ▼ *Hot Tuna, RCA Victor LSP-4550 (APRS-8249)*

HOT TUNA HAS GONE through some changes since they cut their first album (and since they did their early live gigs) and, before we go any further, let's stop for a personnel check: Jack Casady, bass; Jorma Kaukonen, guitar and vocals; Papa John Creach, violin; Sammy Piazza, drums; Will Scarlett, harmonica.

This is their second LP, and it's live. Unlike Ike and Tina, it's a low-volume, low-energy, laid-back thing that doesn't rush up and grab you by the nose or any other protruberance and run off with you. In fact, it's very quiet (barely electric), so unassuming and unaggressive that, unless you turn your speakers up when you put it on, you're likely to start a conversation over it. *Don't!*

This is some of the damnedest music that anybody has recorded in many months. It's a kind of friendly country swing harking back to Bob Wills in the 40s, Merle Haggard more recently, and (here's a prediction to paste in your hat) Commander Cody, once Cody's forthcoming album gets released.

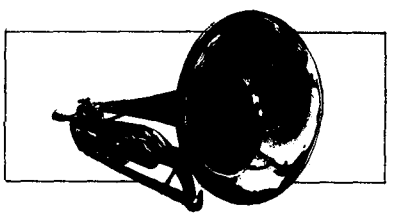
As a spinoff of the Jefferson Airplane, Hot Tuna must inevitably be compared to it, but the differences are so huge that there's only limited value there. Where the Airplane throws a big, hard sound with full instrumentation and tough, working vocals, Hot Tuna has a sparse sound to it, relaxing and simple. There is no "sound wall"—you can easily pick out each instrument and follow what they're doing.

And of course that brings our attention to Papa John Creach, one of the more unlikely candidates for rock and roll stardom of all time. A friend of mine told me about a year and a half ago that the Airplane had added "this crazy old black blues fiddler named Papa John" who could play up a storm.

Partly true. In fact, mostly so. Papa John is an incredible fiddler, but he isn't so old—a sore back makes him move around gingerly, but he's only around 50. Come to think of it, in a business where a lot of people are has-beens at 25. . . . And he's not some old backwoods primitive fiddler that the Airplane "discovered"—he's got formal credentials as long as your arm and was studying violin before I was born (1935).

The blend of sounds here—especially Papa John's fiddling, Jack's bass and Jorma's lead guitar—is fine, happy music. Jorma as a vocalist is no Marty Balin to be sure, but his voice is adequate and his delivery is pleasant. Still, Hot Tuna is chiefly an instrumental group, and you can just sit back with your head in their music, taking a ride now on one instrument, now on another, and it's just fine, just fine.

—DICK LUPOFF



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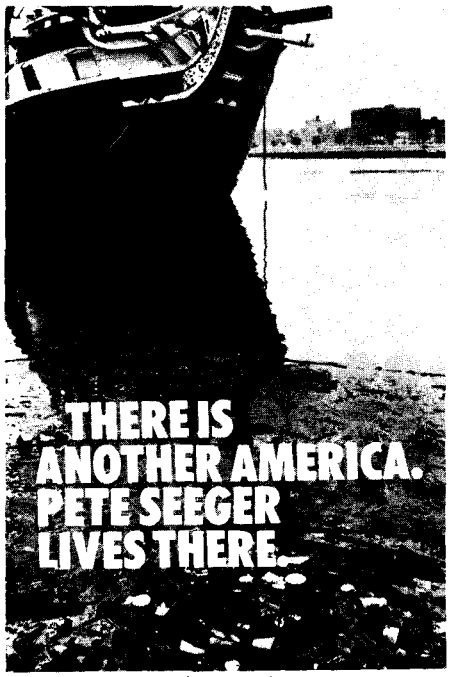

Some of this America exists in the past. It is an America where the streams run clear, where virgin timberland stretches to every horizon, where nature and man are partners—not slave and master—an America where a man works hard and is rewarded. Pete Seeger lives there.

Some of it exists in the future. It is an America where the national fantasies of global conquest are mere memories, where the land and water and air are pure again, where art and peace have supplanted technology and war—an America where a man works hard and is rewarded. Pete Seeger lives there.

Some of it—a small part—exists right now. It is an America where a man can sing in a pure, clear voice and, in spite of everything, be heard. It is Pete Seeger's America. He's sung it for years, and he's still singing it. He's worked hard. You are his reward.

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LOCKHEED *(From Page 50)*

But by going into receivership, Rolls was calling Lockheed's bluff: either produce the planes or file for bankruptcy. Since neither Lockheed nor the 24 bankers who are its financial spinal column were then ready to write off the entire $1.7 billion investment, a new round of negotiations, of the most complicated kind, began. Basically there were four sides to the negotiations: Rolls and its banks; Lockheed and its banks; the British government; and the US government. Naturally each side hoped to stick the other for as much of the development expenses as possible. But claims of poverty could not be pushed to their theoretical limit. It was necessary to appear broke enough to get payments from the other side, but not so helpless that the airlines' customers took fright and surrendered their deposits.

Lord Carrington served as Great Britain's chief negotiator. He had just the impeccable credentials one would expect from a Tory Minister for Defense: educated at Sandhurst, membership in the Beefsteak Club; Chairman of the Australia and New Zealand Bank, Director of Barclays Bank (Britain's largest commercial bank); Hambros; Amalgamated Metal. Carrington's first offer to Treasury Secretary Connolly and Lockheed's Haughton came in the demand for cash subsidies from Lockheed to finance the RB-211 engine; the US turned down this opener and waited for a better offer. It came when the British government promised to pick up the bills for the RB-211, if Lockheed could guarantee Rolls Royce that it would stay out of bankruptcy. Lockheed turned this down too. Much jousting, backing and filling finally produced this agreement: Rolls would wring as much cash as possible out of its government; and Lockheed would try to lay as much of the burden on the US government as possible.

For its part, Rolls Royce has succeeded brilliantly despite substantial obstacles. The Tory Heath government has cast aside all ideological reservations and nationalized most of the company. Basically this amounts to a nationalization of the company's bad debts and astronomical expenditures, enabling all British taxpayers to share them democratically. One division of Rolls Royce remains un-nationalized, however—the one which manufactures the RB-211. But it receives government subsidies from the Tory government to the tune of £2 million a week—and not without serious domestic political and even international ramifications. The Tri-Star competes with the DC-10 and to a lesser extent with the Boeing 747. It also competes very directly with the European A-300B, a short-range airbus being manufactured by the airframe manufacturer Hawker-Siddeley together with French, Dutch and chiefly German interests which are especially bitter about Tory subsidies to Rolls because the money in effect subsidizes the US aerospace industry. (It was precisely this kind of "special relationship" between British and US finance that so incensed DeGaulle and caused him repeatedly to ask the British whether they considered themselves to be an Atlantic or a European power.) The Tory government's decision to back Tri-Star instead of the Hawker-Siddeley-European A-300B shows how well-founded is the European paranoia about Britain's ultimate political loyalties and its financial center of gravity.

It is true that Prime Minister Heath has made a great point of giving Lockheed an ultimatum, by insisting on US loan guarantees before agreeing to subsidize the RB-211. Article 40 of the Rolls-Lockheed agreement, stamped "private data" but de-classified by Wright Patman's House Banking and Currency Committee, stated that the obligations of both parties "shall take effect only if and when the United

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States government gives notice to the United Kingdom government" that the $250 million guarantee is sufficient to carry out the Tri-Star program and that Lockheed is capable of putting the money to effective use. But these guarantees seem *pro forma*. Can the Tories let the RB-211 sink after buoying it up with over $200 million? Frederick Corfield, British Minister of Aviation Supply, has discreetly let it be known that, if the August deadline passes without the required Congressional approval, then the English and American governments and their respective corporate welfare cases, will simply have to sit down and work out new forms of subsidy.

[KEEPING THE DINOSAUR OUT OF THE TAR PIT]

PRESIDENT NIXON, for reasons of his own, has failed to give much resonance to Britain's offer to re-negotiate Tri-Star. With the vital and intriguing exception of Deputy Defense Secretary Packard, administration spokesmen line up with the bi-partisan Chicken Little faction in Congress who are hysterically spreading the word that failure to vote funds in this Congressional session will bankrupt Lockheed, accelerate the declining momentum of the military/industrial complex, and leave the citizenry vulnerable to the twin dangers of economic depression and communist aggression. Much is said about the 13,000 jobs at stake (or 30,000 or 60,000, depending on who's talking) but very little about the fact that several thousand of these jobs will be eliminated whether or not the Administration bill passes. The attempt to save jobs in the aerospace industry is consistent with the Nixon economic game plan which features Presidential vetoes of public works projects and a monetary policy which seeks economic equilibrium through complementary reductions in inflation and employment.

Since the Nixon administration is being less than candid about its motives for rescuing Lockheed, it might legitimately be asked if Lockheed needs the loan guarantee to avoid financial collapse. Lockheed officials themselves, depending on the audience, have two answers. Before an audience made up of airline executives in Paris, President A. Carl Kotchian gave an optimistic pitch. Lockheed, he said, would build the L-1011 even without the loan guarantees. It was the British government, not his banks, which had insisted on them. "Maybe there is some other kind of backing that might satisfy them," Kotchian offered (which, translated, means that the banks will probably give the money without the guarantee). When news of this optimism filtered back to the US, Lockheed public relations people were understandably distressed and denied that Kotchian had said any such thing. "Lockheed has searched many months without success for a financial plan other than through a government guarantee of bank loans," Lockheed's P.R. man said. "Both Mr. Kotchian and Board Chairman Daniel J. Haughton have stated many times that they do not know where sufficient financing could be obtained if the loan guarantee proposal fails in Congress." Lockheed's real condition is probably best reflected in the House Banking and Currency Committee's report containing authoritative Pentagon estimates of the Tri-Star's sales prospects. Instead of a break-even point of 255 aircraft, as Lockheed claims, the Pentagon study estimates that Lockheed will need to sell between 250 and 450 aircraft. (So far, firm sales of the Tri-Star have only reached 100.) On the other hand, Lockheed has advised the House that it anticipates the consortium "will provide additional funds in proportion to its present participation." In other words, Lockheed expects to get the money *without* the lobbied-for legislation. In doing so, it is abiding by its agreement with the British. This is understandable. But why then is the Nixon Administration risking both its prestige and an internal split by pressing for the guaranteed loan?

"Lockheed is one of the nation's great companies," Nixon announced from the San Clemente White House. "It provides an enormous employment lift to this part of the country, and I am going to be heavily influenced by the need to see to it that Southern California, after taking the disappointment of not getting the SST, which would, of course, have brought many, many jobs to this part of the country—

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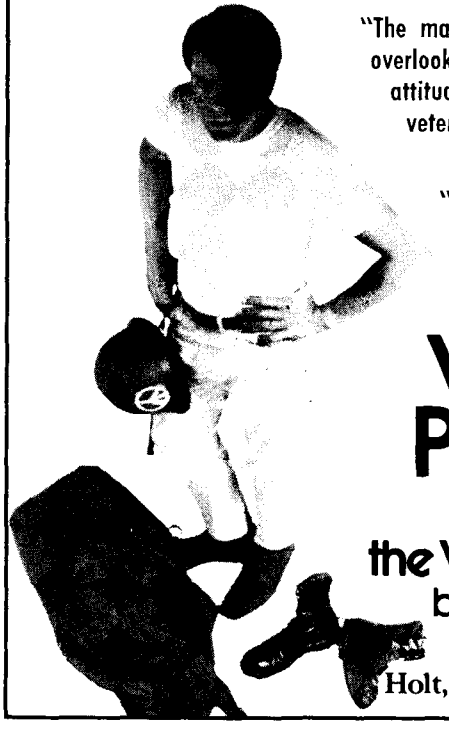

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that California does not have the additional jolt of losing Lockheed." Ties between Nixon and the Southern California armaments manufacturers predate the missile age. Lockheed director Charles E. Ducommun, for example, was one of the original contributors to Nixon's political slush fund, the exposure of which in 1952 gave the then Vice-Presidential candidate the opportunity to perform his famous exercise in mass-media bathos—the Checkers Speech. Throughout his career as Vice President, Nixon remained loyal to his backers in the Southern California armaments business. Roswell Gilpatrick, Kennedy's Deputy Secretary of Defense, is reputed to have given a simple but definitive explanation of the political process underlying the award of Pentagon contracts under Republican and Democratic Administrations when he said simply, "Johnson—Texas; Nixon—California."

More recently, Nixon's former law firm of Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie, Alexander and Mitchell has taken on more and more blue-chip corporations as clients, among them Eastern Airlines. The more money the government throws into development of Tri-Star, the less Eastern will have to pay; and Eastern's future, with its $75 million non-refundable downpayment at stake, is nearly as shaky as Lockheed's. Another client of Nixon's law firm is the Irving Trust. As Martin Meyer points out in *The Lawyers*, every big law firm has a cornerstone, "and most often the cornerstone is a bank." It's quite natural that Nixon's Wall Street law firm would have as one of its clients a Wall Street bank. The Irving Trust is, of course, one of the Lockheed 24. There are other apparent conflicts of interest involving Nixon Administration officials working on the Lockheed bail out. Peter Flanigan, the chief White House aide assigned to the bill, served formerly as an officer of Dillon, Read & Co., TWA's investment banker. And TWA, like Eastern, has a big non-refundable deposit on the Tri-Star—$100 million.

All these influences must have contributed something to the politically risky Nixon decision to back Lockheed to the hilt. But it might be said that, in casting about for the administration's motive, this complex of associations constitutes too fine a net. Is it possible there exists anywhere a giant corporation with a product too reprehensible, or a balance sheet too wildly out of line, to disqualify it in Nixon's eyes for a federal subsidy? Penn Central, Boeing, and now Lockheed have all gotten Nixon's backing and, in the case of Boeing at least, overt ties to the company were not evident. Beyond question, when it comes to aggressive militarism, bombs, missiles and overseas aggression, the President is sincere. But the Lockheed case is not really a clear-cut example of his sympathies for the military/industrial complex. *Most* of the military/industrial complex, strangely enough, opposes the government bail-out of Lockheed.

[GAMES POLITICIANS PLAY]

DAVID PACKARD, THE BIG, beefy aerospace mogul *cum* Deputy Secretary of Defense from Palo Alto, first displayed independence from the Nixon Administration by refusing to assist in the Penn Central bail-out of last year. His personal fortune, estimated at $300 million, provides a substantial cushion against the fear of unemployment. And his sense of independence is no doubt augmented by directorships in such elite institutions as Crocker Bank (one of the Lockheed 24), The Equitable Assurance Co. of New York, The Chase Manhattan International Advisory Board, PG&E and the Business Council—which appears to serve as a sort of ruling-class-committee-of-the whole. But perhaps most important of all, from a vulgar, materialist point of view, Packard is a director of General Dynamics. The giant war contractor competes directly with Lockheed for Pentagon shipbuilding contracts and indirectly with Lockheed in commercial aviation. General Dynamics is McDonnell's main subcontractor on the DC-10, which will profit from any Lockheed failure. Whether or not they have affected Packard's decision to give the loan guarantee less than enthusiastic backing, these directorships certainly provide a broader perspective, one which gives Lockheed's problems a rather parochial look.

In his Senate testimony, Packard told the Senators that he fears a loan guarantee to Lockheed would be used for more corporate bail-outs in the future. "If we look at this as a single case, then there's some justification for it," he said. "But on the other hand, it is very important that we don't establish it as a long-term precedent." In both banking and military/industrial complex circles, it's generally agreed that there are too many prime contractors competing for too few prime contracts. And there are too many manufacturers of commercial jet aircraft. In 1950, there were five producers competing for airlines business: Boeing, Convair, Douglas, Lockheed and Martin. Today only three are left, and it is estimated that only two can survive. In private, Packard advocates a Lockheed merger. And so does Willard Rockwell, Jr., Board Chairman of North American Rockwell and director of the Mellon National Bank. According to him, the Tri-Star is a certain money-loser which will result in Lockheed's re-organization. "Somebody's going to have to say, 'All right we'll take over the whole Lockheed thing and give you enough money to pay off the banks and others,' " he predicted recently. "The [Lockheed] stockholder will take a helluva licking but that's the way it's going to wind up with Lockheed." North American Rockwell is interested in picking up some of the more profitable pieces of the top-heavy Lockheed empire when it collapses, but the airbus program is definitely not one of them.

Besides the special interests of Packard and North American Rockwell, Lockheed's direct competitors have an even more obvious desire to stop a special Lockheed bail-out bill. Once the US government gets involved as a major creditor of a corporation, it develops a vested interest in its well-being. McDonnell, Douglas and G.E., which are manufacturing the DC-10, and Boeing and United Aircraft, which have combined to produce the 747, have reason to fear the influence that the government can bring to bear in arm-twisting foreign governments to buy the Tri-Star. It's happened before with Lockheed with the F-104 and the Erhard government of West Germany.

Joining just about everyone in the aerospace industry in wishing Lockheed's demise through merger, are

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several of Lockheed's banks. The New York wholesale banks that specialize in loans to the aircraft and airline industries have been thrust into the role of mediating their inter-relations. A Lockheed merger would eliminate a great deal of the competition in the airbus market and make more secure their loans to McDonnell and Boeing, and to their respective aircraft engine manufacturing subcontractors. Tying Lockheed to a stronger company would help safeguard the repayment of the loans by the Lockheed 24.

Given the extent of resistance to an outright Lockheed bail-out and the need to prevent serious risk to the outstanding loans of the Lockheed 24, there seems to be developing a broad ecumenical movement uniting bankers, missilemen, and politicians around the following theses: (1) Lockheed should get more federal money in order to guarantee funds already committed and in order to make the British feel better; (2) But any rescue operation should contain provisions to aid any other ailing space-age dinosaurs—"populist" versions of this provision would extend aid to smaller contractors under a kind of resuscitated Reconstruction Finance Corporation (although not to unemployed aerospace workers); (3) Lockheed's management must be purged. At a minimum several of its directors must be removed. Hopefully, the entire company could be re-organized along the lines of the Rockwell Plan.

Most active in propounding this last measure has been California's Senior Senator Alan Cranston, a member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. His amendment to the Nixon bill ties federal funds to a liquidation of the Lockheed management and is tantamount to a *"Lockheed delenda est"* position. Board Chairman Haughton, together with his entire board and all the officers, must resign, according to the provisions of Cranston's amendment. No present employee of Lockheed could ever again sit on the Board; and no present member of the Board could ever be re-elected. "Some bankers," said Cranston in explaining the bill, "who are deeply involved with Lockheed have also indicated grave concern about the quality of the management." Cranston's sensitivity to the bankers' concerns was underscored by the amount of contributions he received from the newly formed Bankers Political Action Committee. According to records filed with the office of the Secretary of the Senate, Cranston received $3500, the second highest investment made in any of the Senators serving on the Banking Committee. In contrast, the activist bankers risked only $2500 on Senator Muskie, who is said to favor Senator Cranston's Lockheed proposals.

The position of Senator Cranston's Congressional colleagues on the loan guarantee bill seem entirely predictable. With a complete list of Lockheed's stockholders and political disbursements (a partial listing shows $38,880 to Republicans and $1000 to Democrats); together with a similar list for Lockheed's aerospace competitors and the company's bankers, it appears entirely possible that one could feed the data into a computer and predict the eventual vote, thus saving considerable Congressional time and debate.

Take Senator Jacob K. Javits, for example, who has introduced a bill which complements the Administration's Lockheed proposal. Last year, his law firm, Javits, Turbin, Gillock and Edleman represented the First National City Bank (another one of the Lockheed 24) in 17 separate transactions. Javit's proposal broadens the Lockheed rescue act to enable the Treasury to dole out money to businesses in "necessitous circumstances" which provide "service vital to the national interest." The Javits bill would set up the government as the "lender of last resort," taking the pressure off institutions like Citibank. This bill, which grants government funds only for giant corporations, would obviate the necessity for Javits to introduce a separate bail-out bill every time one of his client's giant creditors gets in trouble. Last year, Javits introduced the Penn Central bail-out bill; a measure which could have saved Citibank $23 million had it passed.

Other Congressional positions, which seem to have been pre-programmed in their regional and corporate chauvin-

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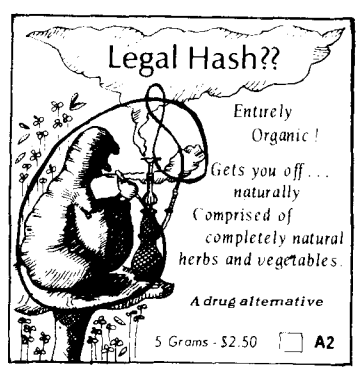

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ism include those of Senator John V. Tunney (D., Calif.) who opposed money for the SST (Boeing, Seattle) but favors subsides to Lockheed; Senator Warren Magnuson (D., Wash.), who supported cash for Boeing's SST, opposes any give-away to Lockheed quite candidly, because of the competitive advantage it would then have over Boeing. Senators Thomas Eagleton and Stuart Symington (both Democrats of Missouri, headquarters of McDonnell-Douglas) opposed the SST and the Lockheed loan guarantee. The Senator from Massachusetts, where General Electric maintains its aircraft engine plant, Edward W. Brooke, naturally opposes the loan guarantee unless Lockheed agrees to convert to US (i.e., G.E.) engines. Coming out strongly against aerospace miscegenation, Brooke said on May 6 that an aircraft produced entirely in the US "might be a more appropriate" recipient for the loan guarantee than "the present domestic-foreign hybrid."

G.E.'s American competitor, Connecticut-based United Aircraft, is not without its spokesman either. Congressman Robert Steele (R., Conn.), former securities analyst with Hartford's Traveler's Insurance Co. (two director interlocks with United Aircraft) has introduced a "sense of the Congress" resolution which would prohibit the Lockheed loan guarantee unless the company buys some American jet engines. The resolution noted that US aircraft engine manufacturers were capable of airbus engine manufacture and that considerable unemployment exists in the American industry. *Congressional Quarterly,* which noted that jet engines are manufactured in Steele's home state of Connecticut, did not say whether or not he was taking orders for United Aircraft engines on the House floor.

If the function of individual Congressmen is to represent individual corporations, why bother to have a Congress at all? Let its constitutional powers be transferred to the Business Council where a weighted voting system based on the total assets of each corporation would quite possibly produce results similar to those we experience under our present system. What the nation would lose in tradition and the superficial trappings of democracy, it would gain in honesty, efficiency and the avoidance of cant.

For make no mistake about it, despite the criticism directed at Lockheed, the financial and business elite which ultimately dictates defense policy hasn't changed its assessment of the value of companies like Lockheed to the overall smooth-functioning of the system. With all its failures and embarrasments, Lockheed does provide the weapons necessary to suppress the external proletariat, while providing employment opportunities for the proletariat at home.

For ranking aristocrats of the defense system like David Packard, the Lockheed debate can serve as a valuable, if trying, exercise in criticism and self-criticism. Perhaps it will be necessary to purge Lockheed entirely and transfer its task to other corporate worthies. If so, the re-organization will be carried out in a way which buttresses the financial framework of the defense industry as a whole, and preserves its pattern of operation. As for the political errand-runners — from lowly corporate valets like Congressman Steele all the way up to Major Domo himself, the Lockheed crisis provides an opportunity to discharge their public function and collect their private retainers. Working collectively, if not in perfect harmony, the executive and legislative branches, the business and the military, all conspire to ensure that this country resembles the ancient Babylonian god who refused to drink nectar except from the skulls of the slain.

Robert Fitch is the author of a forthcoming book, Who Rules the Corporation, *by Random House.*

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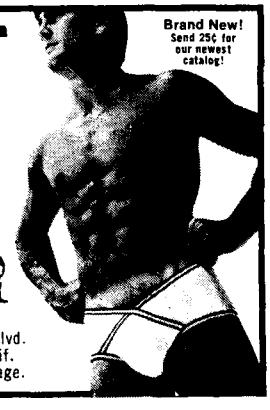

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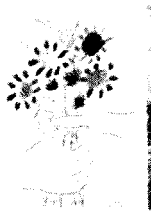

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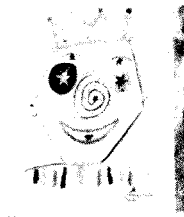

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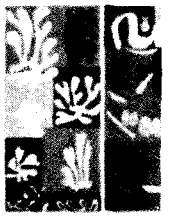

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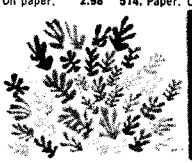
398. ROUSSEAU. THE SLEEPING GYPSY. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Blues, greens, browns, orange & charcoal. A great classic. 20"x31". Pub. @ $35. Only **9.95**
502. On paper. Only **6.95**

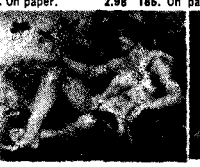


369. MATISSE. THE LEAVES. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** The brightly composed arrangement of colored leaves. Sharp blue, red, green, brown, orange and black. 24"x 30". Pub. @ $18. Only **6.95**

632. POWER. *Silkscreen on art* stock. Dayglo fire onge against a solid black. 20" x35". Only **1.98**

295. RYER. SEATED NUDE. Silksc. on **canvas.** Browns, golds & yellows. 20"x32". Pub. @ 15. Only **5.95**
516. On paper. **2.98**

266. REMBRANDT. MAN IN A GOLDEN HELMET. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Browns, golds & black. 20"x27". Pub. @ $10. Only **5.95**



258. RENOIR. LITTLE SHEPHERD. Silkscreen on **artist canvas** of the wistful young boy in poetic, pastel shades of green, blue & yellow. 18"x 23". Only **1.00**

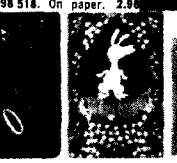
390. FLAMING LOVE. Silkscreen on canvas. Two lovers in dayglo red on black. 20"x 26". Pub. @ $10. Only **4.95**
623. On paper. **1.98**

393. PICASSO. DOVE. Silkscreen on **artist can** The animated drawing o the beautiful bird in fli *Soft blue lines with a s* of green. 20"x26". Only

367. MILLET. THE ANGELUS. Lithograph on **artist canvas.** From the Louvre. Faithfully reproduced in the true colors. A serene homage to man's inner strength. 20"x24". Pub. @ $20. Only **6.95**

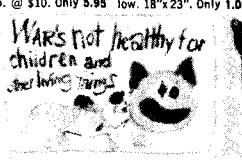
325. CHABAS. SEPTEMBER MORN. Lithograph on **artist canvas.** A classic depicted in pale translucent sunlight colors. 18"x24". Pub. @ $15. Only **5.95**

399. BUTTERFLY. Silkscreen on artist canvas with wild dayglo red, orange, chartreuse & green on matte black. 23"x29" Pub. @ $12. Only **4.95**
544. On paper. Only **1.98**



400. FEELIN' GROOVY. Silkscreen **canvas.** Dayglo cerise green, black & white. 23"x 35". Only **4.95**
630. On paper. **1.98**

196. WYETH. CHRISTINA'S WORLD. Collotype from the Museum of Modern Art on fine art paper. Girl in open field of grass in harvest colors. Classic American Art. 28"x40". Only **7.50**



371. WAR'S NOT HEALTHY FOR CHILDREN & OTHER LIVING THINGS. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Sparkling red, yellow & magenta. 22"x32". Pub. @ $12. Only **2.98**
610. On paper.

343. HUG. THE CHEETAH. Lithogr. on **canvas.** 22"x 28". Only **5.95**
575. Paper. **2.98**

404. NO MAN CAN LIVE WITH THE TERRIBLE KNOWLEDGE HE IS NOT NEEDED. Lithograph on **artist canvas** in black and white. 23"x 35". Only **3.95**
618. On paper. Only **1.98**

282. HUG. T Lithograph o **canvas.** in sh brown, yellow 22"x28". Onl
508. On pape

277. ROUSSEAU. VIRGIN FOREST AT SUNSET. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Bold jungle colors featuring strong greens clear yellow & sun orange. 20"x28". Pub. @ $23. Only **7.95**

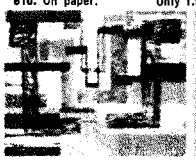
284. HUG. THE LION. Lithograph on **artist canvas.** The magnificent beast in tans, browns and yellow. 22"x28". Only **5.95**
510. On paper. Only **2.98**

254. MONET. WATER LILIES. *Silkscreen on* **artist canvas** in lovely shades of purple lavender & blue. Impressionist masterpiece. 22"x22" Pub. @ $20. Only **6.95**

262. HAUSMAN. A MAN AND A WOMAN. Silkscreen on artist canvas. "Now" colors. 16"x23". Pub. @ $15. Only **2.98**
523. On paper. Only **1.98**

264. MONET SUN-FLOWERS. Silkscreen **on artist canvas.** The classic still life in lush colors. 19"x24". Pub. @ $20. Only **6.95**

391. KLEE. TREPIDATION. Silkscreen on canvas of whimsical figures. Black, white & grey. 18"x24". Pub. @ $12. Only **5.95**
624. On paper. **2.98**



317. PEREIRA. LANDSCAPE OF THE ABSOLUTE. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Beautiful abstract master work in various shades of blue on white. 20"x25". Pub. @ $20. Only **9.95**

283. HUG. THE TIGER. Lithograph on **artist canvas.** The magnificent feline in golden shades of brown, tan, yellow. 22"x28". Only **5.95**
509. On paper. Only **2.98**

217. KLEE. THE LONEI A whimsical color fan Contemporary silkscre **artist canvas.** 20"x28' Pub. @ $15. Onl
147. On paper. Onl

531. TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. POSTERS. Set of four collotype posters. Each 20"x28". Aristide Bruant, Moulin Rouge. Jane Avril and Divan Japonais. All four only **3.95**

251. PICASSO. DON QUIXOTE. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Stirring tribute to the Man of La Mancha in black & white. 18"x24". Only **2.98**

344. HUG. TIGER. Lithograph on **artist canvas.** Red background. 22" x 28". Only **5.95**
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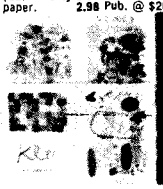
212. VAN GOGH. SUN-FLOWERS. Silkscreen **artist canvas.** Vibrant palette of yellows greens & browns. 20"x26". Pub. @ $17. Only **6.95**

616. THEY SHOOT STUDENTS DON'T THEY? *Poster on* paper. Red, white blue & black. 23" x35". Only **2.98**

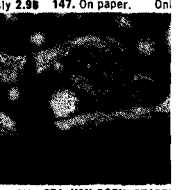
387. PICASSO. BLUE NUDE. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Shades of blue. 18"x24". Pub. @ $12. Only **5.95**
621. On paper. **2.98**



534. ART EXHIBITION POSTERS. All four faithfully reproduced on heavy art stock in exciting full color. KLEE, MIRO, DUFY, and CHAGALL. Each 20"x 30". Only **3.95**

198. SUPPOSE THEY GAVE A WAR — AND NOBODY CAME. *Silkscreen on* paper. Dayglo red & black. 25"x38". A classic poster. Special **2.98**

231. KNIGHT & LADY. PAIR MEDIEVAL BRASS RUBBINGS. Silkscreen canvas. Black & gold 12"x36". Pr. **6.95**
165. Paper. Pr. **3.95**



271. VAN GOGH. STARRY Silkscreen on **artist ca** *Spectacular cypress tre* against swirling starlit Blues, greens & purple 18"x24". Pub. $35. Onl

633. CAUTION BREATHING MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH. Road sign yellow & black. 20" x20". Paper **1.98**

306. HAUSMAN. THE PARTING. Silkscreen on **canvas** in color. 16"x 20". Only **2.98**
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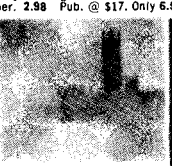
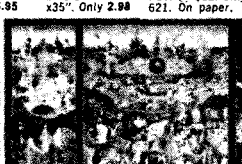
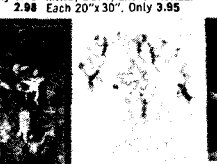
403. LOVE IS A MANY SPLENDID THING. Silksc. on **canvas.** Gay dayglo. 23"x35" **4.95**
635. Paper **1.98**



270. MONET. HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. Silkscreen on **artist canvas** in full color. View from London Bridge overlooking the Thames. 20"x22". Pub. @ $20. Only **6.95**



401. BOSCH. THE GARDEN OF EARTHLY DELIGHTS. *Lithograph on* **artist canvas.** Classic are in spectacular full color. 23"x35". Pub. @ $35. Only **9.95**
631. The above on paper. Pub. @ $15. Only **4.95**



313. PICASSO. DANCE OF PEACE. Silkscreen **artist canvas.** Color carousel. 20"x 26" Pub. @ $12. Only **5.95**
627. On paper. **2.98**

279. FRAGONARD. YOUNG GIRL READING. Silkscr. on **canvas.** 20"x 26". Pub. @ $17. Only **2.98**

395. PICASSO. THE ROOSTER. Silkscreen on artist canvas in bright gay colors. 20"x26". Only **5.95**
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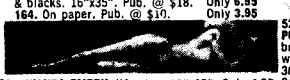
251. SEURAT. LA GRANDE JATTE. screen on **artist canvas** of the F masterpiece, rendering shade a through thousands of tiny color *In rich tones of green, blue and* low. 18"x 27". Only **5.95**

252. PICASSO. THREE MUSICIANS. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Cubist masterpiece in strong & muted colors. 22"x24". Pub. @ $18. Only **5.95**

230. PICASSO. GUERNICA. Lithograph **artist canvas.** *Spanish Civil-War protest in greys* & blacks. 16"x35". Pub. @ $18. Only **6.95**
164. On paper. Pub. @ $10. Only **3.95**

528. BEN SHAHN. POSTER. Black & brown on fine white paper. 30"x45". Special **3.95**

629. IF IT FEELS GOOD DO IT. Silkscreen on fine art stock. Lively poster in gold w/black script 23"x 35". Special Only **2.98**



520. WANDA EMBRY, life size. 12"x63". Only **4.95**

237. UNICORN IN CAPTIVITY. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Red, green & orange. 19"x28". Pub. @ $15. Only **5.95**
171. On paper. Only **2.98**

402. LOVE STORY Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Vivid red, blue & green. 15"x30". **5.95**
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388. RAPHAEL. DAVID. Silkscreen canvas. Soft beige. 17" x32". Only **5.95**
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245. PICASSO. MATERNITY. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Iridescent blue, black & pink shades. 15"x20". Pub. @ $20. Only **5.95**
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